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Alkin

(Addison)

THE
L I F E
OF
JOSEPH ADDISON.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
Printed by A. SPOTTISWOODE,
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THE
L I F E
OF
JOSEPH ADDISON.

BY LUCY AIKIN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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THE LIFE
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CHAPTER IX.

1709 to 1712.

THE TATLER BEGUN BY STEELE. ADDISON BECOMES A CONTRIBUTOR. STATE OF MANNERS. TIMES FAVORABLE TO THE DESIGN. CHARACTER AND PURPOSES OF ADDISON'S PAPERS. THE WAR UNPOPULAR. GENERAL DISMISSAL OF THE WHIGS. LETTER OF ADDISON IN FAVOR OF AMBROSE PHILIPS. NOTICE OF HOADLEY. LETTER TO DESMAISEAUX. SITUATION OF SWIFT. LETTER OF STEELE TO HIM. CORRESPONDENCE OF ADDISON WITH SWIFT. KEALLY. LORD WHARTON. IS RE-ELECTED FOR MALMSBURY. ADHERES TO HIS PARTY. WRITES THE WHIG EXAMINER. ACCOUNT OF THE WORK. ATTACKS SACHEVEREL. COOLNESS WITH SWIFT ON POLITICAL GROUNDS. EXTRACTS FROM SWIFT'S JOURNAL RELATING TO ADDISON. STEELE DROPS THE TATLER. AND WHY. SETS UP THE SPECTATOR. PRIVATE CONCERNS OF ADDISON. CORRESPONDENCE WITH WORTLEY MONTAGU. MISREPRESENTATIONS OF HIS COURSE OF LIFE BY POPE OR SPENCE. RESIDENCE AT SANDY END. IMPROVED CIRCUMSTANCES. PURCHASE OF BILTON. POLITICAL SERVICES TO THE HOUSE OF HANOVER.

If the year 1709 be somewhat barren for the biography of Addison as a politician, a man of

business, and a member of social life, it forms an epoch in his career as an author and in the literary history of his country.

In the early part of 1709 it was, that a paper appeared, published three times in the week, which undertook to unite observations on life and manners in all ranks and classes, "Quicquid agunt homines," as the motto expressed it, with the ordinary matter of a newspaper, foreign intelligence and advertisements. Literary topics were also mingled, and Addison, then in Ireland, had proceeded no further than the sixth number in the perusal, when he recognized it as the production of his friend Steele, by an original remark on a passage in Virgil which he had himself communicated to him. He was struck with the plan, as offering what his diffidence required, namely a safe and private channel through which to pour forth the treasures which he hoarded in the recesses of his mind, and thus "to give a rich invention ease;" he lost therefore no time in opening a communication with *The Tatler*, to whom he imparted in the beginning hints alone and sketches, but afterwards entire papers, some of them finished specimens of his best manner.

Steele has expressed with all the ingenuous warmth of his character, his feelings on the great and unexpected succour thus afforded him: "I fared," he says, "like a distressed prince who calls in a powerful

neighbour to his aid ; I was undone by my auxiliary. When I had once called him in, I could not subsist without dependence on him." And again referring to Tickell's expression, that the reputation of the Tatler was "advanced" by Addison, he exclaims, "It was advanced indeed, for it was raised to a greater thing than I intended it; for the elegance, purity and correctness which appeared in his writings were not so much my purpose, as in any intelligible manner, as I could, to rally all those singularities of human life, through the different professions and characters in it, which obstruct any thing that was truly good and great. . . . I rejoiced in being excelled; and made those little talents, whatever they are, which I have, give way and be subservient to the superior qualities of a friend whom I loved, and whose modesty would never have admitted them to come into daylight but under such a shelter." And with a just and not ungraceful assertion of his own good service to the world in thus acting the part of harbinger, or escort, to a greater person than himself, he concludes that "whatever Steele owes to Addison, the public owes Addison to Steele." In fact, when it is considered to what a height the reputation of Addison himself was elevated by this occurrence, the benediction given by his father to their early friendship, might almost be esteemed prophetic.

Steele was all his life an indefatigable projector ;

but the periodical papers of which he was the inventor and editor, were the only schemes of his that ever greatly prospered; partly perhaps for the very reason that they alone gave him, what lord Bacon coveted: "the command of more wits than his own." From the beginning he found many and able coadjutors. Swift, whom he had flattered by bestowing upon his imaginary Tatler the name of Bickerstaff, under which that unmerciful wit had lately carried on his attacks on Partridge the almanac-maker, immediately became a contributor. Letters flowed in from all quarters, and even had its literary character not been so wonderfully enhanced by the communications of Addison, it is probable that the undertaking would have proved highly successful; since it was at once novel in its plan, and admirably adapted to the circumstances of an age which required above all things to have a mirror held up to it.

That long period of revolution and political re-organisation which began with the reign of Charles I. and terminated with the accession of William III, may be considered to have swept away the last remains of the social fabric of the feudal ages. In its place the solid foundations of a more regular and better constructed constitutional edifice had been securely laid; but the becoming superstructure of corresponding manners, uniting manliness with mildness and grace, and the charms of ease and

freedom, with due obedience to salutary laws and checks, was still deficient.

A furious party spirit, in which all the worst passions of civil war survived its devastation and bloodshed, offered one formidable obstacle to the progress of genuine civilization and social happiness; another existed in an imported style of manners and morals at once absurd, artificial, impure, and unsuited alike to the genius and the institutions of the people. Public opinion was indeed beginning to apply some counteraction here. The politeness of the court of Charles II, already odious by its association with the recollections of a scene of triumphant profligacy, domestic and political, of which most men were now ashamed, was branded with an additional stigma from its origin. The true-born Englishman, never more anti-gallican than during the long wars waged against the ambition and perfidy of Louis XIV, had learned to scorn as *French* servility, *French* libertinism and coxcombry, its pervading spirit of elaborate and exaggerated compliment, and universal gallantry. Such studied frivolities, or ingenious refinements, were now generally recognised as derogatory and repugnant to the simplicity, the gravity, perhaps it may be added, the surliness of the national character. Mercenary adulation indeed, we may confess with shame that there had always been Englishmen abundantly

forward in offering; but the perpetual obligation of paying compliments to all kinds of persons, without immediate motives of interest, and as a part merely of the common courtesies of society,—above all, the necessity of constantly flattering the whole female sex,—light as it sits upon “the supple Gaul,” was felt by the sturdy Briton as an insupportable burden or an ignominious yoke. All professions, ranks and parties, the peer, the politician, the man of letters, the commercial whig and the landed tory, seem to have heartily concurred in a sense of this general grievance; and to have unanimously sought relief in the rude freedom of taverns and clubs, those “schools of coarse good-fellowship and noise.”

It is apparently to the constrained imitation of the breeding of the court of Louis XIV, superseded as yet by no other model, on one hand, and to a constant desire and effort to escape from its restraints and exactions on the other, that we are chiefly to ascribe those strange contrarieties, those alternate extremes of ceremony and barbarism, exhibited in all delineations of English manners at this period. General excess in wine was indeed an additional, and a still more disgraceful cause of irregularity and boisterousness of behaviour. On the whole, rich as was the age in men of wit, talents, learning and accomplishments, it seems no great exaggeration to affirm, that the true gentleman, in the highest sense of the term, was a character scarcely extant.

To women, this state of society was a truly calamitous one. Amid all the forms of the most obsequious deference, never, in this country, had the sex been in reality so contemned or so contemptible. Like spoiled children who have just attained the age when petulance and caprices from amusing become intolerable, they found on all hands chidings succeeding to flatteries, and satire to deification. Marriage itself was treated with licentious and insolent contempt, and when it took place, the transition was strangely sudden from the obsequious lover to the lordly husband. That almost universal neglect even of the common rudiments of female education which had ensued upon the restoration, had left them destitute of any power to attract by the graces of the mind; and for the homely occupations of the good housewife, which they had mostly learned to despise, they had nothing to substitute but the dissipation, the idleness, the silly airs and affectations, of the beauty and coquet; or according to the phrase then fashionable, the *fine lady*. The general secession of the more respectable portion of the other sex from their insipid circles, served to aggravate the foibles of which it was in part the result and the punishment; and it exposed them almost without defence to the enterprises and the evil influences of an order of mortals known by the appellation of *beaux*, or *women's men*.

The *beau* was the exact counterpart of the *belle* to

whom he consecrated his attentions. Absorbed like her in the round of amusements, in gallantry, and “the soft cares of dress,” he was in no condition to humble her by his superior erudition. “Beau spelling” was on an exact level with the lady’s own, and their reading was equally limited to songs and sonnets, plays, and English translations of French romances. Within the range of *light literature* indeed, and the native tongue, scarcely any thing else at this time existed ; and perhaps neither the full extent of this deficiency, nor, consequently, the whole merit of those who supplied it, has been sufficiently observed. Fictitious narrative in prose, was then almost a lost kind of writing ; for the date of the old romance was nearly out, and that of the modern novel had scarcely commenced. It seems indeed that the first publication of Congreve was an attempt of this nature, under the title of ‘ Love and Duty reconciled ; ’ but it had no success even in its own time, and is now totally forgotten. Some love stories of a vulgar kind there doubtless were ; and Mrs. Manley had constructed her *New Atalantis* as a vehicle for scandalous anecdote ; but before the appearance of the *Tatler*, it was in comedy alone that interesting or amusing portraiture of modern life and manners,—of characters in action,—were to be found. Hence it was that the drama made so great a portion of the reading of the young and the gay ; how pernicious a portion few readers will require to be told.

Steele, with considerable humour, had still more power in the pathetic; not indeed that of the buskin, but of every day life; hence his short narratives of domestic circumstances, often conveyed in imaginary letters, which have much of this quality, were doubtless among the most attractive portions of the Tatler on its first appearance. In fact, notwithstanding a considerable alloy of what must now be reckoned for dross and refuse, — coarseness of idea and bluntness of expression, — they still interest; and in good part by virtue of the liberal, the humane, and the generous sentiments which they seldom fail to inculcate, and which evidently came from the heart. They contain especially, many earnest and touching appeals against that ruthless despotism then customarily exercised by parents with respect to their children's marriages, to which the whole happiness of life was often made a sacrifice; and it was probably by them that public opinion was first brought to bear against this crying evil, and a general correction or mitigation of it effected.

The delineations of Addison will be examined more at length hereafter; but in this place it may be remarked, that their character differed widely from that of Steele's, inasmuch as the genius of this great master had no bent towards the pathetic. His pictures, much more finished in style, more correct in drawing, and fuller of nice touches of truth and nature, are of the humorous and satirical class, and turn rather on

displays of character and manners than on adventure. Both these originals made many imitators; and perhaps it may be fairly suggested, that it was they who sowed the seed from which, forty years afterwards, sprang up the patriarchs of the race of novelists; Steele imparting the vital spirit to Richardson, Addison to Fielding.

Of the general deficiency, even of men of rank and hereditary legislators, with regard to one of the most essential branches of general knowledge, we have a remarkable exemplification in a passage of Evelyn's *Memoirs*. This gentleman having, at lord Cornbury's request, given him a sketch of a course of reading in history, chiefly ancient, and by no means an extensive or critical one, adds, "and by that time your lordship has arrived thus far, you will have performed more than any man of your quality can pretend to in the court by immense degrees, according to my weak observation, who sometimes pass my time at the circle where the gallants produce themselves with all their advantages, and God knows small furniture." It was doubtless out of his knowledge of the continued prevalence of this kind of disgraceful ignorance, that Addison, having previously recommended a young man of the name of Harrison, often mentioned by Swift, to the office of tutor to a nobleman, said to him, "We who have gone through a good school education may easily enough get to be good classical scholars, but there is one thing that I would now advise you

to; read a good history of England, that you may know the affairs of your own country."

It was a still graver deficiency which had some time earlier extorted a severe remark even from the loose and reckless Otway :

" Men read not morals now, it was a custom ;
But all are to their fathers' vices born,
And in their mothers' ignorance are bred."

In societies thus destitute of more creditable resources, the vigils of the card table were found an indispensable protection against the inroads of that weariness of an empty and insipid self, which was modishly styled the *spleen*. Play became the most serious business of life, and was often pushed to a ruinous excess by both sexes. Even youthful beauties were sometimes totally engrossed by it, though

" A youth of frolics, an old age of cards,"

might be the more frequent case.

Some of the evils of such a state of manners had begun to make themselves severely felt, and remedies were sought. As far as the force of example could go, Anne endeavoured to render her court decent and religious; and a society had been formed under high auspices, yet with small success, for Reformation of Manners; but Steele deserves the praise of being the first writer who set himself purposely and resolutely to work to put the sickle into so ripe a harvest of

follies and vices. He proposed, as we have seen, to reform the world, or at least the town, although in him this design appears to have been mingled at least with the vanity of showing how well he knew it, and could entertain it with sketches of noted characters, and hints at the scandal of the day. The original purpose of Addison was perhaps little more, as has been hinted, than to communicate to the public in an attractive form, and without personal responsibility, the copious collections which he had formed, partly of remarks, literary and critical, and partly of observations on morals and manners; the mature fruits of his studies, his reflections, and his experience of life at home and abroad. But by degrees, the secret of his own genius was revealed to him. The *Tatler*, in its later portions, is enriched with some exquisite specimens of that delicate and graceful wit, that original vein of humour, and that sportiveness of fancy, in the union of which he had no predecessor or rival, and has had no successor.

It was however not till the *Tatler* had been transformed into the graver and more dignified character of a *Spectator*, that he fully disclosed his resources to the world, and the subject will be resumed hereafter.

In the meantime, public events were in preparation which, by withdrawing him awhile from the avocations of official life, were to give him leisure for a more constant devotion of his thoughts to this his

genuine and higher calling. The war, long glorious and popular, began to be felt by the people as a burden. The successes of Marlborough in the last campaign had been greatly overbalanced by the surrender of general Stanhope and his army in Spain, and the consequent submission of the whole country, with the exception of Catalonia, to the Bourbon competitor. Harley and his party aggravated for their own purposes every example of ill-success or ill-conduct in any department; and the queen, impatient at once to gratify her affection for the reigning favourite, and her resentments against the deposed one, was evidently hastening with her best speed towards a change of ministry and a peace. The accomplishment of her wishes however still encountered serious obstructions. The directors of the Bank of England, the States General and the Emperor, all interposed with earnest representations against the dismissal of her old advisers for others who were regarded as secret friends, if not pensioners of France, and secret enemies of the protestant succession; and in order to conciliate such powerful intercessors, the queen was compelled to promise that Marlborough at least should retain his command. Nothing however restrained her from inflicting on him various affronts and mortifications, designed to pique him into a resignation; and before the conclusion of the year 1710 he found himself the only member of the

whig, or war party left in office. The avocations of Addison during this anxious and busy year, his sentiments on public affairs, and the terms on which he associated with some leading characters both in literature and politics, will best be learned from his own correspondence and that of his friends, interspersed with a few explanatory remarks.

The ministry, though nearly at the last gasp, had still it appears some preferments at its disposal; and we possess in the following letter a pleasing proof of the alacrity with which Addison exerted all the interest he yet possessed in favor of a humble friend, whose encouragement from the world was not at this time equal to his deserts. This was Ambrose Philips, of whose performances both in dramatic and in pastoral poetry there will be occasion to speak hereafter. The situation he was soliciting was a secondary one in the diplomatic line, and he appears some time afterwards to have obtained a mission to Copenhagen which enabled him to gratify the world with his poetical description of a frozen shower; a piece of first-rate excellence in its kind.

MR. ADDISON TO AMBROSE PHILIPS.

Dear sir,

April 25. 1710.

Upon the receipt of your first letter I consulted with Mr. Pulteney, who is very much your friend,

and extremely desirous to serve you, but as the province to which Muscovy belongs is under Mr. Boyle he did not think it proper for me to move any one else in that affair, designing to mention you to the Secretary, who you know is his intimate friend, upon the first favorable opportunity. Since that I have received your second, and have got Mr. Hopkins to join with me in the affair of Geneva to my Lord Sunderland, but his Lordship tells us that Dairolle has been named to that post for some time. I knew the Marquis du Caen applied to the Duke of Marlborough upon the same account. I have been several times to speak to my L^d Sommers upon this Occasion but could not find him at home till about three days ago, and then he was just going out with lord Orford. However I took his Lordship aside, and upon my telling him your desire in regard to Geneva H. L^{dp} promised that he would move in it. I told him at the same time what I had heard of Dairolle and that probably you would be very well pleased to succeed Dairolle at the Hague. I likewise told his L^{dp} of y^e Vacancy that might possibly happen in Muscovy, and begged H. L^{dp} to turn it in his Thoughts to your advantage. He was very particularly attentive to me, and by the very kind manner that he received what I had to say and that he formerly has spoken to me of you, I promise myself y^t something may rise out of it for your Good.

I intend to mention you once more to His L^p before I go for Ireland, and I believe it would not be amisse for you to ground a Letter of Thanks upon the Gracious Hearing he has already given me. I must beg you to present my most Humble respects to Mr. Pulteney and I hope you have already let him know how much I love and honour him. Farewell dear Philips and believe me to be more than I am able to expresse Your

most Affectionate and

most Faithful Humble

Serv^t

J. ADDISON.

Dick Steele and I rem̃ber you once a day. Little Thomson is y^e same excellent youth he was.*

Another letter to the same correspondent without date, but evidently written from Ireland, during the first or second secretaryship of the writer, possesses some interest on account of the opinion which it expresses concerning the noted Pastorals of Philips. Perhaps it may be regarded as a civil intimation that his pen might be better employed.

* From the original MS. in the possession of John Scott Esq. Westminster.

Dear Sir

I am very much obliged to you for sending me my Letters from Mr. Vandewaters, but more for the Copy of your Pastoral. I have read it over with abundance of pleasure, and like extremely well the alterations you have made in it. You have an admirable hand at a Sheep-Crook, tho' I must confess y^e Conclusion of your poeme woud have pleas'd me better had it not bin for that very reason that it was the Conclusion of it. I hope you will follow the example of your Spencer and Virgil in making your Pastorals the prelude of something greater. He that can bewail Stella's Death in so good a Copy of Verses woud be able to Anatomise her after it in a better. I intend for England within a day or two, and shoud be very glad if I coud be any way serviceable to you there.

Yo^r

Faithfull Humble Serv^t

J. ADDISON.

[Addressed to Ambrose Phillips]

From "The Autograph Portfolio." London, 1837. 4to. *Literatim.*

The spring and summer of this year must have been passed by the secretary for Ireland chiefly or wholly in London, whence he thus informs his Irish friend Keally of the aspect of affairs.

Sir,

London April 13. 1710.

We are here in a great puzzle of politics. Little Ben winks, speaks half sentences and grows more mysterious than ever. Dick Steele is entirely yours. Lord Halifax, after having talked of you in a very friendly manner, desired me to give you his humble service when I writ to you." * &c.

The person here so familiarly designated as "little Ben" was no other than Mr. Hoadley, afterwards the celebrated bishop. He had recently so distinguished himself by his writings in controversy with bishops Bramhall and Atterbury, that the house of commons had specially addressed her majesty to bestow on him some dignity in the church, in reward of his services to the cause of civil and religious liberty; a request with which she promised compliance, but under the influence of her new advisers was induced to omit the performance. Hoadley was likewise the author of several small anonymous pamphlets referring to the state of public affairs during this year of crisis. From the tone in which he is here mentioned it appears, that although coinciding with him in politics, Addison, from sincere reverence for the clerical character and office, regarded with little approbation or respect this exercise

* Steele's Epis. Corresp. I. 188.

of his pen. In June, Congreve writes to Keally, "It is impossible any change can be in the court, and Mr. Addison not able to inform you." Soon after however we find him writing from Ireland, and making no secret of the precariousness of his tenor of office.

Mr. Desmaizeaux, his correspondent, was French, a refugee probably, and a man of letters. He was the editor of the works of St. Evremond, and perhaps had gained some favor with the secretary as the biographer of Bayle, whose dictionary, as Tonson reported, he usually found open on Addison's table whenever he called on him. It appears from Steele's correspondence, that this gentleman was his intimate friend, and that it was at his request that Addison had taken him with him to Ireland, where he seems to have recommended him to some appointment.

MR. ADDISON TO MR. DESMAIZEAUX.

Sir

Dublin Castle Aug. 1. 1710.

I did not care for answering your letter till I could do it in some measure to your satisfaction. I have at last watched a convenient season to move my L^d Lieuten^t. for your Lic^{ce}. of absence, which he has granted till December next. I am affraid I shall not then be in a capacity to serve you any further in this

particular, but if I can you may depend upon it. I heartily wish you joy of your new post and am Ever
Sir

Your most faithful

Humble Servant

J. ADDISON.

Mr. Desmaiseaux *

The shocks given to private friendships are among the most cruel effects of political changes; that of Addison and Swift, built on a foundation which generally proves one of the firmest, — a mutual and disinterested pleasure in the conversation of each other, — is soon to be exhibited in a situation of danger, for the comprehension of which it will be necessary now to observe the position of Swift with respect to the whig leaders. Towards the close of the former year we find Steele addressing him as follows: —

MR. STEELE TO DR. SWIFT.

Dear sir Lord Sunderland's Office Oct^r 8. 1709.

Mr. Secretary Addison went this morning out of town, and left behind him an agreeable command for me, viz. to forward the inclosed which lord Halifax sent him for you. I assure you no man could say

* From the Birch Collection, Addit MS. 4281 art. 2.

more in praise of another than he did in your behalf at that noble lord's table on Wednesday last. I doubt not but you will find by the inclosed the effect it had upon him. No opportunity is omitted among powerful men, to upbraid them for your stay in Ireland. The company that day at dinner were, lord Edward Russell, lord Essex, Mr. Maynwaring, Mr. Addison and myself. . . . Mr. Philips dined with me yesterday ; he is still a shepherd, and walks very lonely through this unthinking crowd in London. I wonder you do not sometimes write to me.

The town is in great expectation from Bickerstaff: what passed at the election for his first table being to be published this day sevensnight. I have not seen Ben Took* a great while, but long to usher you and yours into the world. Not that there can be any thing added by me to your fame, but to walk bare-headed before you.

I am &c.†

Similar hopes, delusive ones as it proved, from the favor of Halifax, were thus held out to Swift by Addison himself in the succeeding year; it is observable however that the clergymen whom he mentions as the intended new bishops were both of them known tories.

* Swift's printer.

† Steele's Correspondence.

MR. ADDISON TO DR. SWIFT.

Dear sir,

Dublin Castle July 23. 1710.

About two days ago I received the inclosed, that is sealed up; and yesterday that of my friend Steele, which requiring a speedy answer, I have sent you express. In the meantime I have let him know that you are out of town, and that he may expect your answer by the next post. I fancy he had my lord Halifax's authority for writing. I hope this will bring you to town. For your amusement by the way I have sent you some of this day's news; to which I must add that Doctors Bisse and Robinson are likely to be the bishops of Bristol and St. Davids: that our politicians are startled at the breaking off the negotiations and fall of stocks; insomuch that it is thought they will not venture at dissolving the parliament in such a crisis.

I am ever, dear sir yours entirely.

Mr. Steele desires me to seal yours before I deliver it: but this you will excuse in one who wishes you as well as he or any body living can do.

Shortly after, Addison came over to England, and Swift addressed him in the month of August, from Dublin, in the following terms.

DR. SWIFT TO MR. ADDISON.

I believe you had the displeasure of much ill news almost as soon as you landed. Even the moderate tories here are in pain at these revolutions, being what will certainly affect the duke of Marlborough, and consequently the success of the war.

I am convinced that whatever government come over, you will find all marks of kindness from any parliament here with respect to your employment; the tories contending with the whigs which should speak best of you. In short, if you will come over again when you are at leisure, we will raise an army and make you king of Ireland. Can you think so meanly of a kingdom as not to be pleased that every creature in it who hath one grain of worth, has a veneration for you? I know there is nothing in this to make you add any value to yourself; but it ought to convince you that they are not an undistinguishing people. I long till you have some good account of your Indian affairs, so as to make public business depend upon you, and not you upon it.

I read your character in Mrs. Manley's noble Memoirs of Europe. It seems to me as if she had about two thousand epithets and fine words packed in a bag; and that she pulled them out by handfuls, and strewed them on her paper, where once in about five hundred times they happen to be right.

The “ill news” referred to, was doubtless that of the dismissal of Godolphin from the office of lord treasurer, to make room for Mr. Harley; which was justly regarded as the severest blow which could be aimed at the Duke, and the sure prelude of his disgrace.

Mrs. Manley was the author of a work of scandalous notoriety,—the *New Atalantis*,—as well as of other pieces eulogizing or vituperating the public characters of the day, in one of which she had thought proper to sound the praises of Addison under the name of Maro. Notwithstanding the contempt with which Swift here speaks of her performances, we shall soon find him carrying on in close alliance with her the dirty and detestable work of a party-assassin of reputation.

Addison’s office, here mentioned, was that of Keeper of the Records for Ireland, concerning which he appears to have received an important favor recited in the document copied below.*

* Whereas y^e office of Keeper of y^e Records in Birmingham’s Tower in y^e Castle of Dublin by Letters patent under y^e great seal of Ireland, is granted to y^e R^t. Hon^{ble} Joseph Addison Esq^{re}. on y^e surrender of Casack Baldwin gent, in consideration of w^h surrender y^e s^d. Joseph Addison paid to y^e s^d. Casack Baldwin
£

230 Ster. & consented & agreed to give him y^e said Casack Baldwin an Irrevocable Deputation of y^e same with all fees due for making Copies & Certificates of y^e Searches into such records as now are or hereafter shall be in s^d. office, & all other business to be done therein to y^e sole & proper use & benefit

The weight of the commercial interest, thrown at this time into the scale of the whigs, still of him y^e s^d. Casack Baldwin without giving any acc^t. of y^e same. Know all men by these presents that I y^e s^d. Joseph Addison do hereby constitute & appoint y^e s^d. Casack Baldwin my Lawful Deputy to do execute & perform all & every lawful act & thing that is or shall be necessary in y^e due & legal Execution of y^e s^d. Office by signing Copies of Records & justly keeping y^e s^d. records in y^e s^d. Office, & I do hereby give, grant, & assign to y^e s^d. Casack Baldwin, y^e legal & just fees due for making Copies Certificates & searches & other business to be done in y^e s^d. Office, & if y^e occasions of y^e s^d. Casack Baldwin shall at any time during his s^d. Deputation, call him for England or elsewhere, so y^t. y^e s^d. Casack Baldwin cannot in person officiate in y^e place of Deputy, I do hereby constitute & appoint Arthur Baldwin of y^e City of Dublin gent, Brother to y^e s^d. Casack Baldwin, my lawful Deputy to act & do every thing y^t. shall be necessary to be done in y^e s^d. Office, by signing copies of Records, & justly keeping y^e s^d. Records in y^e s^d. Office as afores^d. until y^e s^d. Casack Baldwin shall return from thence or elsewhere, to y^e proper use & benefit of him y^e s^d. Casack Baldwin, Referring however to me y^e s^d. Joseph Addison & my Assigns y^e full benefit of y^e Salary or Salaries y^t. now is or are or hereafter shall be allowed by y^e Crown to y^e Patentee or Patentees of y^e s^d. Office, In witness whereof I y^e s^d. Joseph Addison hath put my hand & seal this 29th day of May 1710.

JOSEPH ADDISON.

Loc.
Sigill.

Signed Sealed & Delivered in presence of

Jos. Kelly

J. Dawson

R. Fitzgerald

Copia Vera.

8^{ber}. y^e. 15th. Examined

E. Budgell.

[From the Tickell papers.]

supported their hopes under all discomfitures ; and those, they were not a few, who looked only to their own immediate profit, still found cause to hesitate concerning the *principles* it would be proper to embrace. Addison thus reported the state of affairs to Mr. Keally early in August 1710. “ The Bank have represented that they must shut up upon the first issuing out of new writs ; and Sir Francis Child, with the rest of the monied interest on the tories’ side, have declared to the duke of Shrewsbury, that they shall be ruined if so great a blow be given to the public credit as would inevitably follow upon a dissolution. We hear from all parts of England that the people daily recover their senses, and that the tide begins to turn so strongly, that it is hoped the next parliament will be of the same stamp with this in case of a dissolution.”

Perplexed in the extreme by these fluctuations, Swift wrote in the same month to Addison, begging his advice whether he should at this juncture come over to England ; and observing that he expected every day to hear of the dismissal of lord Somers, else he might have hoped for some of his good offices. The particular objects one or both of which he had at this time in view, appear to have been the place of historiographer, and a prebend then held by South, but which the old man did not vacate by death as soon as was expected and desired.

What answer Addison gave to the question of his clerical friend does not appear; but Swift came over, as he had probably predetermined, and finding the whigs, and especially lords Somers and Halifax, either not in a capacity to advance his fortunes, or as he always resentfully maintained, not sincere in their declarations of having always desired and endeavoured it, lost no time in making his applications to Mr. Harley and the tories. He was unsuccessful with regard to the office of historiographer, and obtained at this time no church preferment; but the ministers quickly discovered in him, and eagerly enlisted in their service, the talents of an able and formidable phampleteer, and one of the most audacious of party libellers.

Meantime Addison was occupied in London with the business of his office and that of lord Wharton, two of his dispatches to whom have been preserved, and well merit transcription. The last curiously exhibits the anxiety of the lord lieutenant not to be understood to have resigned till he was absolutely certain of being turned out.

MR. ADDISON TO THE MARQUIS OF WHARTON.

My Lord,

London Aug. 24. 1710.

This morning I had the honour of a visit from Mr. Bertie, who upon my acquainting him with

your Lordship's concern for his brother's election, declared himself very much obliged to your Lordship, but said his brother was so tired of sitting in the house, that he would not be in it again upon any consideration.

I hear from my lord Dartmouth's office, that all the particulars which I had in charge for your Lordship have been already complied with, except that about proroguing the parliament, which I have desired may be dispatched forthwith to your Excellency, in case it is judged necessary.

The privy council was to meet this night, in order (as it was said yesterday) to place my lord Peterborough at the head of the admiralty, and to determine of the dissolution: but this morning I hear from very good hands that there is advice of the Prince of Wales being ready to embark with a body of troops at Dunkirk, and that the admiralty is to attend the privy council upon the occasion.

It is said the Duke of Queensborough has had intimation of such a designed invasion, about a month ago, from several parts of Scotland. This report, I believe comes from sir George Byng, and is of such a nature, that I should be cautious of mentioning it to any body but your Excellency.

Among the prints which I send you by this post, the Essay upon Cries is said to be written by Mr. Harley, and that of Mr. Bickerstaff Detected, by Mr.

Congreve. Dr. Garth, under whose hands I am at present, will not excuse me, if I do not present his most humble duty to your Lordship: the doctor this morning shewed me a copy of verses which he has made in praise of the lord treasurer. The lord Islay is lately returned from Scotland, and it is said the Duke of Argyle is expected every day from Flanders.

I am with the greatest respect, &c. &c.

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

My Lord

London Oct^r. 17th. 1710.

I received the honor of your Lordship's of the 13th, and have sent the commissions mentioned in it according to your Lordship's commands; not hearing as yet of any thing that hath passed, which should hinder your Lordship from signing them.

I must however acquaint your Lordship with a passage in one of Dawson's letters, dated the 3d instant, which did not come to my hands till last night, having been sent after me to Malmsbury by mistake.

I had mentioned to him, as your Lordship had told me you would have it believed, and as you had yourself written the post before to some of your friends in Ireland, that you had signified to her majesty your unwillingness to continue in that go-

vernment when all your friends were dismissed, or to that purpose ; but at the same time told him, that I believed your Lordship would not be out of it till some months after. In answer to that letter he writes to me in the following words: “ You might be assured that whatever you writ to me was lodged in a safe hand ; but what you desired should not be taken notice of, came over hither by twenty letters in the same post ; and the Whitehall letters from both secretaries’ offices, which came hither by the same packet with yours, positively mention my lord lieutenant’s resignation of his government to her majesty on the 22nd of the last month ; so that it is here no secret, and every body says upon it that his excellency cannot act any more on his commission, but that the government is absolutely in the hands of the lords justices, till a new governor is appointed.”

I will not take any notice of the receipt of this letter till I hear further from your Lordship ; having by the last post, and all along, written in the character of secretary to the lord lieutenant. Your Lordship is doubtless the best judge of this matter, how far the resignation went, and how far it was accepted ; or whether it could be accepted effectually, but by superseding your Lordship’s commission. I shall only take notice that your Lordship’s letters to the secretary of state, and to the Lords justices in Ireland ; the first relating to the horses that are

wanting there, and the other to the draughting of 250 dragoons for the embarkation of them, bear date Sept. 23. The Irish gentlemen are positive that your Lordship will be succeeded by the Duke of Ormond, though there goes a whisper among some of your Lordship's friends that my lord Rivers is certainly designed for that employment.

Nobody here knows what to think of the present state of affairs. Those who got the last parliament dissolved, are as much astonished, and they say troubled, for the glut of tories that will be in the next as the whigs themselves.

I am

with great respect &c.

Harley, a very mysterious, because a very irresolute and very unprincipled politician, seems at times to have aimed at a kind of middle course between the two grand political parties, and it is doubtless to him that the last sentence of this letter alludes. Addison himself was rechosen for Malmsbury without a contest, but in general the elections fully realised the predicted "glut of tories;" which event was in great part produced by the triumphal procession of Sacheverel to his living in Wales, attended by vast mobs of all ranks and classes, which caught at once and kindled the flame of high-church fanaticism throughout the country. In the mean-

time, every kind of reproach and obloquy was heaped on Marlborough, so lately the ruler of the court and the hero of the nation.

The abruptness of these changes struck the beholders with astonishment. "Things happen like earthquakes," writes Congreve to his friend Keally, in the month of December, "sudden, unusual, and unforeseen. Mr. Addison very well applied a line out of *Ædipus* yesterday,

" 'One but began
To wonder, and straight fell a wonder too.' "

On the feelings and conduct of Addison the effect of all these incidents was of a kind directly opposite to that which they had produced on Swift.

" Unskilful he to fawn or seek for power,
By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour."

So far, indeed, from abating in the least of his warmth of attachment for the party of his early choice, we find him roused to an energy of zeal alien from his habits, and almost from his nature, in defence of the falling fortunes of friends and patrons to whom he was bound by the double tie of private affections and public principle. They had lately experienced great annoyance from a periodical paper entitled the Examiner, then conducted by Prior, a deserter from the camp of the whigs and the cause of Marlborough, towards whom he is accused of

acting with base ingratitude. Addison undertook the service of replying, or retaliating, in the Whig Examiner; of which it was the design "to *censure the writings of others, and to give all persons a rehearing who have suffered under any unjust sentence of the Examiner, a paper which would have been more properly entitled the Executioner."

The first number of this paper appeared on September 14. 1710, and was devoted to a defence of those lines of Garth's to Lord Godolphin which Addison mentions in one of his letters to Lord Wharton; they having sustained a rude attack at the hands of Prior in the Examiner. There is a good deal of sharpness as well as ability in this paper, and the assailant is reprehended in a tone of marked contempt. At the same time, the verses in question being really very indifferent, although the production of one of the first poets of the time, it was easier to retaliate on the critic than to defend the object of his satire. The succeeding numbers have much of Addison's own vein of wit and humour. The Examiner having brought forward a humble correspondent to tell the public that the writer of this paper could furnish mankind with "an antidote to the poison that is scattered through the nation," he

* In our elder writers to *censure* has its primitive Latin meaning, to *estimate*, and does not necessarily imply an unfavorable judgment. Such is evidently its sense in this place.

says, it puts him in mind of the first appearance that a celebrated French quack made in the streets of Paris. A little boy went before him, publishing with a shrill voice, "Mon père guérit toutes sortes de maladies." To which the Doctor, who walked behind, added in a grave and composed manner, "L'enfant dit vrai."

One paper opens with an admirable panegyric on nonsense, by which however he solemnly protests that he has had no design of currying favor with his antagonist. He divides it into high and low. The last, he says, "is the talent of a cold phlegmatic temper, that in a poor dispirited style creeps along servilely through darkness and confusion." "On the contrary, your high nonsense blusters and makes a noise. It stalks upon high words, and rattles through polysyllables. It is loud, sonorous, smooth and periodical. It has something like manliness and force, and makes one think of Sir Hercules Nonsense in the play called *The Nest of Fools*." "We meet," he says, "with a low grovelling nonsense in every Grub Street production; but I think there are none of our present writers who have hit the sublime in nonsense, besides Dr. S——l in divinity, and the author of this letter in politics." It was thus that Addison brought to a termination equally public and abrupt, his early friendship for Sacheverel, — the "dear Harry" to whom his juvenile Epistle on

the English poets was so affectionately dedicated ! Though always to be deplored, such ruptures are not however always to be condemned ; on the contrary, to renounce a private friendship on public grounds may sometimes be an imperative duty, and this is to be considered as a case in point.

The mildness of Addison's disposition enabled him through life, and in times infamous for the fury of faction, to maintain the intercourses of friendship with persons very decidedly opposed to him in politics ; and his eagerness to put a scorn upon the furious and mischievous rants of Sacheverel, proves his full conviction that there existed between him and their author an incompatibility never to be surmounted, — that between the sincere man and the hypocrite, — the honest man and the knave. In fact, Sacheverel was scorned by the very party which made him its tool.

The grounds of the dispute concerning passive obedience and the right of resistance, have seldom been better stated, and never illustrated with more vivacity, than in the last number of the Whig Examiner. Nor should it by any means be forgotten among its merits, that this paper, in marked contrast with its rival, is nearly free from personal reflections. Severe upon writings, it abstains in general from casting reproach upon their authors.

But party-pamphleteering was at best a kind of

writing little worthy of the genius of Addison, and thoroughly uncongenial to his taste; and he dropped the paper at the end of the fifth number. Its satire had evidently not been unfelt by the ministerial writers, since it is with exultation that Swift, who had now enrolled himself in that body, announces to a correspondent, in the words of a tory song, that it is now "Down among the dead men." His satisfaction indeed, was no doubt augmented by the reflection that he would thus be spared the pain of measuring himself in single combat with a friend whom he could not cease to love and esteem. Addison's last Whig Examiner appeared on October 8. 1710; Swift's first paper in the Examiner, on the second of the following month.

Even thus, it could scarcely be hoped that the former cordiality could long subsist between the parties; since it was impossible that Addison should either fail to perceive from what motives the disappointed churchman had turned round upon his former party and patrons, or to reprobate the temper and spirit in which he had done so. They strove however still to remain friends, and we have the means of learning to what degree they succeeded.

Swift, during his residence in London at this period, addressed to his unhappy Stella that curious journal which gives us so clear an insight into the peculiarities of his very extraordinary, and certainly

by no means engaging character, — his pride and self-consequence, his ambition, his minute attention to expense, and other petty personal objects, his dexterity in serving his own ends with the greater part of his acquaintance, his zealous patronage of some favorite dependents, and his hearty affection for a very few friends. In the last number, Addison held one of the highest places. His name occurs oftener than almost any other in the journal, and by bringing into one view the passages in which mention is made of him, we gain a more intimate knowledge of his manners and habits during this period of his life, and of the society which he frequented while in London, than is elsewhere to be obtained.

Journal to Stella. “October 12. 1710. I dined today with Dr. Garth and Mr. Addison at the Devil tavern by Temple Bar, and Garth treated. . . . Mr. Addison's election has passed easy and undisputed; and I believe if he had a mind to be chosen king he would hardly be refused. 19. I am come home from dining in the city with Mr. Addison at a merchant's. 20. I spent the evening with Wortley Montagu and Mr. Addison over a bottle of Irish wine. 22. I was this morning with Mr. Lewis the under secretary to Lord Dartmouth contriving to keep Steele in his office of stamped paper, he has lost his place of gazetteer, 300*l.* a year, for writing against Mr. Harley but I had a hint given me

that I might save him the other employment, and leave was given me to clear matters with Steele: Well, I dined with Sir Matthew Dudley, and in the evening went to sit with Mr. Addison, and offer the matter at distance to him as the discreeter person; but I found party had so possessed him that he talked as if he suspected me, and would not fall in with any thing I said. So I stopped short in my overture, and we parted very drily, and I shall say nothing to Steele, and let them do as they will Is not this vexatious? I endeavoured to act in the most exact points of honour and conscience, and my nearest friends will not understand it so. 25. I dined today with Mr. Addison and Steele, and a sister of Mr. Addison's, who is married to one Mr. Sartre, a French prebendary of Westminster, who has a delicious house and garden; yet I thought it was a sort of monastic life in those cloisters Addison's sister is a sort of a wit, very like him. I am not fond of her. 28. Garth and Addison and I dined today at a hedge tavern; then I went to Mr. Harley. 29. Mr. Addison and I dined today with lord Mountjoy. 31. I dined with Mr. Addison and Dick Stuart, lord Mountjoy's brother; a treat of Addison's. They were half fuddled, but not I; for I mixed water with my wine, and left them together between nine and ten. November 16. I dined in the city today with Mr. Manley, who invited Mr

Addison and me and some other friends to his lodging, and entertained us very handsomely. I returned with Mr. Addison, and loitered till nine in the coffee house, where I am hardly known by going so seldom Mr. Addison and I meet a little seldomer than formerly, although we are still at bottom as good friends as ever; but we differ a little about party."

Under the date of December 15. Swift gives a detailed account of Mr. Harley's having been induced by him to appoint Steele a time to wait on him, and Steele's failing to come, and in his vexation, he accuses Addison of having hindered it, "out of mere spite, being grated to the soul to think he should ever want my help to save his friend. Yet," he adds, "now he is soliciting me to make another of his friends secretary at Geneva, and I'll do it if I can; it is poor pastoral Philips." There is evidently the inconsistency of an angry man in supposing, that while Addison was willing to seek favors for another friend through the interest of Swift with the ministers, he should "out of mere spite" prevent Steele from availing himself of the same interest. The truth was, that Steele went on his own grounds.

The breach, for the present, went on widening. In December Swift writes to Stella: "Mr. Addison and I are as different as black and white, and I believe our friendship will go off by this d—— business of party. He cannot bear seeing me fall in so with the

ministry ; but I love him still as much as ever, though we seldom meet." Again : " I called at the coffee house, where I had not been in a week, and talked coldly awhile with Mr. Addison ; all our friendship and dearness are off ; we are civil acquaintance, talk words of course, of when we shall meet, and that's all : Is it not odd ? But I think he has used me ill, and I have us'd him too well, at least his friend Steele."

With regard to Addison however, though not Steele, we find his anger soon subsiding, for thus the journal of the new year commences :

January 2. 1710-1. At six went to Darteneuf's house to drink punch with him and Mr. Addison and little Harrison, a young poet whose fortune I am making Steele's last Tatler came out to-day He never told Mr. Addison of it, who was surprised as much as I ; but to say truth it was time, for he grew cruel dull and dry.

February 4. I went to Mr. Addison's and dined with him at his lodgings. I had not seen him these three weeks. We are grown common acquaintance, yet what have I not done for his friend Steele ? Harrison, whom Mr. Addison recommended to me, I have introduced to the secretary of state, who has promised me to take care of him ; and I have represented Addison himself so to the ministry, that they think and talk in his favour, though they hated him

before.—Well, he is now in my debt, and there's an end; and I never had the least obligation to him, and there's another end. March 6. I have not seen Mr. Addison these three weeks; all our friendship is over. March 16. Have you seen the Spectators yet, a paper that comes out every day? It is written by Mr. Steele, who seems to have gathered new life, and have a new fund of wit; it is in the same nature as his Tatlers, and they have all of them had something pretty. I believe Addison and he club. I never see them, and I plainly told Mr. Harley and Mr. St. John, ten days ago, before my lord keeper and my lord Rivers, I had been foolish enough to spend my credit with them in favour of Addison and Steele, but that I would engage and promise never to say a word in their behalf, having been so ill-used for what I had already done. April 28. The Spectator is written by Steele with Addison's help; 'tis often very pretty. Yesterday it was made of a noble hint I gave him long ago for his Tatlers, about an Indian supposed to write his travels into England. I repent he ever had it. I intended to have written a book on that subject. I believe he has spent it all in one paper, and all the under hints there are mine too; but I never see him or Addison.* April 29. I

* Swift was here under a mistake. The paper in question was not written by Steele but Addison; and the coincidence was probably accidental.

never go to a coffee house; you hear no more of Addison, Steele, Henley lord Somers, lord Halifax &c. I think I have altered for the better. June 26. Mr. Addison and I have at last met again. I dined with him and Steele today at young Jacob Tonson's Mr. Addison and I talked as usual, and as if we had seen one another yesterday; and Steele and I were very easy, though I writ him a bitter letter in answer to one of his, where he desired me to recommend a friend of his to lord treasurer. September 14. This evening I met Addison and pastoral Philips in the Park, and supped with them at Addison's lodgings. We were very good company, and I yet know no man half so agreeable to me as he is. I sat with them till twelve."

The Tatler was indeed dropped by Steele, as Swift relates, without the knowledge of Addison, not however because "he grew cruel dry," but for more cogent reasons. He had rendered it too much of a vehicle for his opposition-politics; and after being deprived of the post of gazetteer for an attack on Mr. Harley contained in one of the numbers, he had come to a kind of treaty with the minister, in virtue of which he was to keep his place in the stamp office as long as he should remain neutral in politics. When he could no longer be satisfied to do so, he resigned his office in a letter to Harley. Steele therefore always denied that Swift had any merit in

preserving him from dismissal; and when provoked by the furious assaults of the Examiner, still, as he well knew, secretly controlled, though no longer openly edited by Swift, he told him in print that the ministers made a fool of him, if they pretended to have spared him at his intercession. This appears to have been so near the truth, that the reverend lampooner never forgave it. In these quarrels Addison was too wise to take any part; but Steele's compelled forbearance from political topics, contributed not a little both to the merit and success of the Spectator, which appeared in the ensuing March.

Before entering on the fertile topic of this great work, it will be desirable to present to the reader a few letters throwing light on the private concerns and situation of him whose genius has alone imparted to it the odour of immortality.

His early friendship with Wortley Montagu still subsisted in its pristine vigor; and it is fortunately in our power to peruse this part of their correspondence entire. *

MR. ADDISON TO MR. WORTLEY.

Dear sir,

Being very well pleased with this day's Spectator, I cannot forbear sending you one of them, and desiring your opinion of the story in it. When you

* Addisoniana.

have a son I shall be glad to be his Leontine, as my circumstances will probably be like his. I have within this twelvemonth lost a place of 2000*l.* per ann. an estate in the Indies of 14,000*l.*, and what is worse than all the rest, my mistress. Hear this and wonder at my philosophy. I find they are going to take away my Irish place from me too: to which I must add that I have just resigned my fellowship, and that stocks sink every day. If you have any hints or subjects, pray send me up a paper full. I long to talk an evening with you. I believe I shall not go for Ireland this summer, and perhaps would pass a month with you, if I knew where. Lady Bellasis is very much your humble servant. Dick Steele and I often remember you.

I am dear sir

Yours eternally

July 21. 1711.

The beautiful story of Eudoxus and Leontine (Spectator No. 123.) will be in the memory of many—it would once have been said of all readers. It represents the benefit of educating the heir to a large fortune under an accomplished tutor, (Leontine) in the false opinion that being destitute of patrimony, his success in the world must be the effect of his talents and application alone. *

* This appears the fit place for discussing a circumstance of the life of Addison which has been passed over by his earliest

Of the estate in "the Indies," referred to also by Swift, no other notice has been found; and concerning

biographer in as complete silence as his share in the education of lord Warwick, and which has just been made known to the present writer. It appears from documents handed down in the family of Rushout, that sir James, second baronet of this name, who was born in 1676 and died in 1705, was for some time under the tuition of Addison, and probably at Oxford. This connection, it is believed, was the commencement of a friendship between him and John, younger brother of sir James, who on the death of his nephew in 1711 succeeded to the baronetcy, subsequently became distinguished in public life and was created lord Northwick, being the grandfather of the present respected peer. It is further stated to have been through the interest of sir John Rushout, who was lord of the manor of Malmsbury and one of its representatives in the parliaments of 1710 '13 and '14, that Addison occupied that seat for the borough during the same period, which he has hitherto been supposed to have owed entirely to lord Wharton. The two accounts may perhaps be reconciled, by supposing that his lordship, who certainly had a strong interest in Malmsbury, may have contributed his efforts to bring in a member for the parliament of 1709, when the Rushout property was held by a minor, while in the subsequent ones, Addison may have owed his success solely to the support of sir John, his colleague. Addison was a frequent guest, it appears, at Northwick Park during all this period, and an authentic token of his intimacy with its master still subsists in the admirable original portrait of him by Kneller preserved there, together with the portraits of sir John Rushout himself and his nephew the first lord Sandys; painted and signed by the same artist at the same date. The circumstance is a pleasing one, as indicative of the respect and affection inspired by Addison in the character of an instructor; and it is very probable that among his correspondents or companions while on his travels, mostly persons

the mistress he complains of having lost, nothing further has been discovered.

MR. WORTLEY TO MR. ADDISON.

Wortley July 28. 1711.

Notwithstanding your disappointments I had much rather be in your circumstances than my own. The strength of your constitution would make you happier than all who are not equal to you in that; though it contributed nothing towards those other advantages that place you in the first rank of men. Since my fortune fell to me, I had reason to fancy I should be reduced to a very small income. I immediately retrenched my expences, and lived for six months on 50*l*. as pleasantly as ever I did in my life, and could have lived for less than half that sum. I often entertained myself with the speech of Ofellus in the second satire of the second book; and still think no man of understanding can be many days unhappy, if he does not want health. At present, I take all the care I can to improve mine. This air is

of rank and consequence, other Oxford pupils might be discovered.

It is to the very obliging information of lord Northwick himself that I am indebted for the knowledge of these facts, as well as for the power of presenting to the public that engraving of the excellent portrait in his possession which forms the frontispiece to this work.

as proper for that as any I know; and we are so remote from all troublesome neighbours and great towns, that a man can think of nothing long but country entertainments or his books; and, if you would change the course of your thoughts, you will scarce fail of effecting it here. I am in some fear I shall be forced to town for four or five days, and then we may come down together. If I stay I shall let you know it in a week or ten days, and hope to see you very soon.

You was never in possession of any thing you lose but your places, and those you could not call your own. After I had read what you say about them, I could not take pleasure in the Spectator you sent, but thought it a very good one. In two months, or a little more, I think I must go the Newcastle journey. You told me you should like it; if you do not, perhaps we may contrive how you may pass your time here. I am not sure we shall easily have leave to lodge out of this house, but we may eat in the woods every day if you like it, and nobody here will expect any sort of ceremony.

The chief interest of the following letter, besides the anxious desire it evinces to secure the society of a friend justly prized, may be thought to consist in the curious plan of *leisurely* travelling which it traces out.

MR. WORTLEY TO MR. ADDISON.

Dear sir

Wortley Aug. 25. 1711.

Hearing you are at the Bath, I am almost afraid you have laid aside the thoughts of this country. If you still intend to be here, I wish I knew the time, that I might delay or hasten my journey to Newcastle; which you please. I shall pass three months more in the north, and would stay your own time, if you come. I have now my choice of two or three pretty but small places, besides this house, which perhaps you may like the least. You are almost as near to this place as to London. I am afraid you will not meet with an opportunity of coming in a coach. But if you have not seen Worcester, Stafford, Nottingham and Chatsworth, you may make your journey pleasant; and if you travel but eighteen or twenty miles a day, you will get here almost insensibly in five or six days, as you are taking the air. After you are a little beyond Gloucester, you will find a gravelly soil, as good in wet as in dry weather, which will not leave you till you are within fifteen miles of home. I can have one here that writes a better hand than your own secretary. But if you like him better, he would be no trouble to any here, though you should desire to live with my lord. But I must add to all this, that when the Bath season is quite over, so late as in October, you will in all like-

lihood have a better season for travelling than the summer. When I have said this in hopes of drawing you hither, I cannot but wish you may be as well where you are as I was once, and have no desire of changing the place.

MR. WORTLEY TO MR. ADDISON.

Dear sir

Wortley Oct. 8. 1711.

I intend to set out this week for Durham, and to return hither about three weeks hence; I can scarce hope you will be for a long journey this season; but if you should like a country life so well, I will stay here till January to attend you, and perhaps longer. There is a house within two miles of this place, which I am sure would please you as well as any in these parts. I design to lodge you there for the advantage of shooting when I come back from Durham; but if you should not like it, I can find another. Lest this climate should not suit with you, I dare say nothing in praise of it; unless you think I speak well of it in telling you that I grow fat, and am very easy. It would however agree with me much better if you were in it. My most humble service to Mr. Steele; he knows I should have inserted him often had he been at liberty to come.

MR. ADDISON TO MR. WORTLEY.

Dear sir,

Oct. 13. 1711.

I am very much obliged to you for your last kind letter and invitation, which I heartily wish I could accept; but you know I have put my hand to the plow, and have already been absent from my work one entire month at the Bath. I hope you will not think of staying in the country so long as you mention. Sure it will be worth your while to hear the peace treated in the house of commons, and as you have seen *mores hominum multorum et urbes*, I think you cannot have a better opportunity to show yourself. If you will be my lodger, I'll take a house in the Square at Kensington, and furnish you a chamber; not forgetting a cook and other particulars. I send you enclosed a paper of Abel Roper's, which every body looks upon as authentic: we talk of nothing but a peace. I am heartily glad you have your health, and question not but you would find the Kensington air as good as the Wortley. I am ever, with the greatest sincerity, &c.

MR. WORTLEY TO MR. ADDISON.

Dear sir,

Newcastle Nov. 11. 1711.

Since I cannot have your company in the country I shall leave it as soon as I can without damage to

my affairs. I would have left this place early enough to meet you at Wortley, had you given me notice of your coming. Now you do not, I intend to continue here a fortnight longer; for I think it will be for my advantage; if I stay a fortnight at Wortley, as 'tis like I may, it will be near the middle of December before I get to Kensington, when I am very glad to hear I may be your lodger, if you will not be mine as I proposed. Should you like any other place out of town better than Kensington, I desire you will choose it, and I shall certainly be pleased with it.

The peace, I should think, will not be debated before Christmas; when it is, I fancy it will be accepted [or] refused by a very great majority, and the public would not suffer by the absence of all our friends put together. If I am mistaken in this, I desire you will let me know it. My opinion is, the nation must be ruined by such a peace as is talked of; notwithstanding I should pay for the war more than any man in the house whose fortune is not above double to mine. That we may bear up the better under misfortunes, I hope you will be nice in the choice of a cook, and other particulars.

In this plan of domestication with a friend in a village several miles removed from the centre of London, we find a fresh proof how greatly Addison has been wronged by the accounts of Pope, or Spence,

which represent him, in the ordinary course of his life, as spending all that remained of the day, — and at this period it was the larger part, — after a studious morning, and often much of the night also, in taverns and coffee houses, attended by a little knot of obsequious and convivial associates. He was still lodged at Kensington in the following year, perhaps led to this choice by its nearness to Holland house ; and thus saw much of Swift, who was his neighbour. The Spectator seems to have been the plough to which he had set his hand, and such was its great and immediate success, that there can be no doubt of its having brought him in considerable supplies.

In other respects, his melancholy anticipations concerning his pecuniary affairs were far from being realized in their full extent. His Irish place was preserved to him till he obtained permission to sell it, stocks probably rose again, and whatever became of his Indian estate, — an estate in a West Indian Island probably, — it is certain that before the conclusion of this year, he found himself justified to that prudence which never forsook him, in making the acquisition of the house and lands of Bilton, near Rugby, for the sum of 10,000*l.* ; his brother Gulston however assisting him, we know not to what amount, in the purchase. That the political services in which he was privately employed by the court of Hanover, brought no accession at this time to his

pecuniary resources, we have certain proof in an article of his Memorial to George I. which, from the order in which it stands, evidently relates to some period between his secretaryship under lord Wharton and the end of the reign, and runs thus: "That when Baron Groet was Your Majesty's Minister in these Kingdoms, Your Memst. was employed to meet and discourse with him upon such points as might be thought conducive to y^e Interest of y^e Protestant Succession, y^e s^d Baron Groet having proposed to my L^d. H. this method [as] y^e best means to avoid giving any Umbrage to*..... That at this time your Memst. was employed to draw a new Credential Letter from that excellent Princess y^e late Electress Dowager of Brunswick, with o^r. Instruments of y^e same nature for which he thought himself amply satisfied by y^e Pleasure he took in doing any thing which might promote Your Majesty's cause."

* The MS. is here imperfect.

CHAPTER X.

1712 & 1713.

REMARKS ON THE SPECTATOR. TRANSACTIONS AND INTERCOURSE WITH WHISTON. CLARKE. BERKLEY. NOTICE OF POPE'S ESSAY ON CRITICISM IN THE SPECTATOR. LETTER OF STEELE TO POPE. OF POPE TO ADDISON. HIS PATRONAGE OF AMBROSE PHILIPS. CATO BROUGHT ON THE STAGE. ACCOUNT OF ITS RECEPTION BY TICKELL. BY CIBBER. ERROR OF YOUNG. POPE'S OPINION ON IT. HUGHES APPLIED TO BY ADDISON TO WRITE A FIFTH ACT. ANXIETY OF THE AUTHOR. POPE'S ACCOUNT OF ITS RECEPTION. LITERARY REMARKS. PUBLICATION OF THE TRAGEDY. COMPLIMENTARY POEMS PREFIXED. CRITICISM OF DENNIS, WHO IS CHASTISED BY POPE. LETTERS ON THIS SUBJECT. FURTHER HONOURS PAID TO CATO. LETTER OF DR. SMALRIDGE.

THE Spectator exhibits in its full expansion that genius which half disclosed itself in the Tatler. Several circumstances in the plan itself and structure of the work invited its great contributor to redoubled exertions: First, in consequence probably of some direct stipulation, a much larger proportion of the contents was to be supplied by himself, and the general tone of the work would thus be raised as well by the matter excluded as by what would find admission. Secondly, there was to be no mixture of the ephemeral matter of a common newspaper; and what was highly meritorious at a period when every

thing else was deeply infected with the spirit of party, a resolution had been taken of avoiding all allusions to the politics of the day, which was adhered to with few exceptions to the end, although the general spirit is that of liberty. But what was of the greatest avail, the mind of Addison proved like the richest kind of mines; the more it was wrought, the deeper the shafts were sunk, and the more various and more precious, as well as the more abundant, the products became. If in the *Tatler* he had given excellent specimens of his power of humorous delineation, as in the proceedings of the Court of Honour, and the political Upholsterer, in the *Spectator*, besides adding largely to the number of his draughts, and varying them with admirable fertility of invention, he produced in *sir Roger de Coverley* a finished comic character which had no model in our language, and which, in the delicacy of its touches, *Fielding* never equalled. That the first hint of this personage should have been thrown out by *Steele*, in his account of the members of the *Spectator's* club, is a singular circumstance, but on the whole it detracts little from the merit of Addison in his portion. It became under his hands not only so superior, but so different a conception, that even its original author,—to say nothing of several occasional contributors who had the presumption to intrude upon it with their clumsy inventions,—never

touched but to disfigure and distort it. No reader now regards as a part of the *true* history of sir Roger any but the incidents described by that immortal pen.

The Spectator is also enriched with several creations of his imagination of a higher and more poetical nature. Those beautiful allegories which so powerfully excite the fancy and exercise the ingenuity of the youthful, and from their elegance, more especially of the female reader, — while they impress upon the heart, as by stealth, moral truths the most touching and sublime, first appear in the Spectator. The two Tuns of Jupiter, the Mountain of Miseries, and the Vision of Mirza, are examples of this kind. Other delightful fancy pieces of a comic, and somewhat satirical nature, such as the Freezing of Words, the Lover's Leap, and Shallum and Hilpah, adorn both works, but it is the Spectator which first exhibits Addison as a Critic, by his papers on the Drama, on True and False Wit, on Paradise Lost, and on the Pleasures of the Imagination; essays, from which it ought to be regarded as no derogation, that they are popular in their character, and better adapted, as it has been remarked, to form readers than writers. To form readers, was in fact a leading purpose of the periodical paper in which they are found; and with respect to writers, those of any merit have always formed themselves.

In his Saturdays' papers, he is found as the per-

suasive advocate of the grand truths of religion, and of a cheerful and liberal devotion; and these views are recommended to the reader by all the elegance of his imagination, the suavity of his disposition, and the richness of his style. They are also adorned by several hymns and sacred odes, which are among our best and most popular productions, in a kind which is shown to be a far more difficult one than might have been supposed, by the frequent failures of writers of undoubted merit in other kinds of poetical composition.

It is very observable, that amid all the sports, we might almost say, vagaries, of his happy fancy, Addison scarcely ever entirely loses sight of what he had doubtless come to regard as the great vocation which in these papers he was called upon to exercise,—that of Reformer of the Morals and Manners of Domestic life. Yet so admirably skilled was he to sheathe his ridicule of follies in good-temper and good-breeding, and to turn even serious reproof “to favour and to prettiness,” that he perhaps alone among reformers, had the satisfaction to see his suggestions widely adopted, and productive of general benefit, and himself the while neither persecuted nor maligned, but on the contrary, thanked, admired and honored. How far these happy results might be due to his prudent precaution in making the more docile half of the species the principal objects of his censorial

admonitions, is left to the consideration of the sagacious reader.

We can scarcely conceive of more entire and perfect adaptation to an end than that of the powers and qualifications of Addison to the novel kind of writing in which he had engaged. It seemed made for him, or he for it; and his success will probably ever remain the despair of all imitators. His praises have been long resounded, and by many voices. The charms of that wit and humour, and that creative fancy, in which his *genius*, properly speaking, may be said to consist, have been universally felt and applauded; and justice has often been done to his extensive and accurate knowledge of human nature, and the nice discrimination with which he portrays the diversities of natural characters, and the influence of artificial tastes and manners. His fine taste and excellent judgment in wit and poetry have likewise been frequently celebrated; but amid these more obvious and shining excellences, sufficient attention has scarcely been given to the number and variety of topics treated of in his papers, and the range of thought, no less than the beauty of illustration which they display. Let them be compared in this respect with the lucubrations of any of his successors, and his superiority will become strikingly manifest. But it is the simplicity and singleness of heart with which he utters his conceptions which most of all

marks them for the offspring of a spirit of the highest order. Entirely exempt from the egotism and self-conceit of inferior writers, he is never a *mannerist*; if he were, he would have been found more imitable. There is indeed a pervading moral tone in his writings, which is that of purity, mildness, candor and benevolence. In his religious papers he loves to dwell on the beauty and felicity of a life of virtue, and on the infinite benignity of the Creator, and it is very observable how studiously, in some of the imaginative pieces where he has luxuriated in the images of a future state of happiness, he has evaded all details concerning a place of punishment.

Political subjects, we have observed, it was in his bond to avoid; but he has many reprehensions of the injustice, untruthfulness and malignity of party-spirit, and it is with peculiar zeal that he exposes its deformity when viewed as the inhabitant of a female bosom. In fact, he professes it to be one great purpose of his papers to afford to the public less irritating subjects of thought and conversation.

The merit of Addison as a poetical critic is that of the restorer, or first promulgator among ourselves, of a pure and correct taste; that taste of which good sense is the law, and Horace the expounder. We have seen him laboring, both by precept and example, to banish from our serious poetry the impertinences of Greek mythology, and compel our

poets to draw from native sources. In this he was in great measure successful, partly no doubt by the aid of Pope, who, after his early pastorals, silently laid aside these fopperies, and established his character as eminently the poet of correctness and judgment. Another object against which he aimed many and effective strokes, was that fondness for *conceits*, or studied turns of thought, prevalent in some entire schools of poetry, and with which many of our own writers are deeply infected. In his masterly remarks on Ovid, he reprehends the great leader of this corruption; in his papers on True and False Wit he may be said to have given it a death-blow. Unfortunately, his zeal for pure taste, and his abhorrence of every thing to which the epithet *Gothic* could by any licence of language be applied, has sometimes rendered him cold or unjust to productions of real genius, whether in art or letters. Thus we have seen him chiding his own involuntary admiration of the magnificent Gothic cathedrals of Lombardy, on account of their wanting the majestic simplicity of the antique; and in a similar spirit we find him concurring in the sentence passed by the frigid Boileau on the "tinsel" of Tasso, contrasted with the "pure gold" of Virgil. It was indeed to be expected, that he who censured, though reluctantly, Milton's allegory of Sin and Death for going out of that probability required in epic narrative, would want

toleration for the adventure of the enchanted wood in the *Gerusalemme Liberata*; — although it might be difficult to discover on what equitable principle Virgil's transformation of ships into nymphs, or of Polydore into a tree, could be exempted from the like note of reprobation. Perhaps however it was principally to the occasional conceits of the Italian poet that the satire of Boileau was intended to apply. It may further be observed, that there are no traces in any part of the works of Addison of his having ever turned his attention to the literature of modern Italy. In his *Travels* not one of the great Italian writers is even named, and it is not improbable that he knew Tasso only through the medium of Fairfax's translation.

In French literature he was evidently well versed, and in several passages he has given liberal commendation to their critics, dramatists, and general writers. At the same time he was not averse to manifesting his distaste for their national character and manners; and he has enlivened his lucubrations as well as his familiar letters, with various amusing traits of French vanity and impertinence, copied from the life, as it offered itself to his observation during his residence in that country.

With regard to his estimates of our own distinguished authors, it may be with truth observed that by his frequent citations of Locke, and the manner

in which he showed the application of his principles, he contributed almost as much to extend the popularity of his philosophy, as of the poetry of Milton, — both of them inestimable services to the highest interests of his fellow-countrymen! In one of his papers he had the courage to refer to Hobbes, and quotes his account of laughter from the tract *Of Human Nature*, with the remark that it is the best of his works. He delights in making an occasion to evince his high esteem for Tillotson, discovers a sense of Shakspeare by no means universal in his time, by styling him “inimitable,” and praises Dryden wherever he can safely do it, — as in observing upon his *Absalom and Achitophel*, — but freely blames both the manners and the morals of that school of dramatists in which he was conspicuous. In the rude but nervous simplicity of our old English poets his sensibility enabled him to find a powerful charm; witness his eulogy on *Chevy Chace*, and his cordial mention of the ballad of the *Babes in the Wood*.* In fact he could relish all manners but the affected.

* This part of his literary character is further illustrated by the following extract: —

“This poem, [the *Hours* by the earl of Stirling] says Mr. Coxeter, in his MS. notes, was reprinted in 1720, by A. Johnston, who in his preface says, that he had the honour of transmitting the author’s works to the great Mr. Addison, for the perusal of them, and he was pleased to signify his approbation

The tone of unmitigated contempt and abhorrence in which Addison constantly refers to the Free-thinkers of his time has been regretted or censured by many of his warmest admirers. Since even that "Representation of the state of Religion" which Atterbury drew up in 1711 for the two houses of Convocation, but which they rejected for its hostility to all idea of toleration, and its violent spirit and exaggerated statements, contains no complaint of the circulation of any one *atheistical* work, we must hope it to have been in ignorance that the authors of the *Tatler* and *Spectator* seem to involve in a general charge of atheism, writers all of whom were theists, and many very sincere christians, though not according to the received system. Yet a dread of the mischief of discussions tending to unsettle belief, may have tempted them, like many others, to some wilful misstatements or unfair inferences. The broad principle was as yet scarcely recognised, that all persons having equally the natural power, and by consequence, having equally the natural right, to think and to

in these candid terms, That he had read them with the greatest satisfaction, and was pleased to give it as his judgment, that the beauties of our ancient English poets are too slightly passed over by the modern writers, who, out of a peculiar singularity, had rather take pains to find fault, than endeavour to excel."

From "The Lives of the Poets, by Mr. Cibber."

[*alias* Robert Sheils] London, 1753. 12°. Vol. i. p. 319.

express their thoughts, no other weapon can justly be employed against the propagators of whatever opinions, than fair argument ; which, wielded in the cause of truth, must surely be in the end victorious. Addison however has not gone so far in his papers as some of his coadjutors, and it is a little remarkable, that in his personal capacity no one could evince less repugnance, or less scruple, at entering into very friendly and very confidential relations with known unbelievers or stigmatised heretics, than he : Witness his long connection with lord Halifax, who has recorded his scepticism on his tombstone,—his acceptance of the patronage of the scoffer Wharton,—his intimacy with Garth, who, when on his death-bed, actually sent to him, it is said, to ask whether Christianity was true,—his patronage of Whiston, and his open demonstrations of respect both for Thomas Burnet and for the Arian Clarke ! In fact, such was at this time the state of opinion, that no man engaged in public life, and mixing freely with the wits, philosophers and politicians of the first London society, could avoid continual intercourse with avowed deserters from the religion of their country.

The subject of Addison's qualifications and characteristics as a prose writer must not be closed without some distinct notice of what has been so frequently the topic both of vague eulogium and critical analysis, his luminous and beautiful style. When he began

his career, few examples were to be found in the English tongue of that middle tone of composition suited to essays for general reading. Cowley, Dryden, and sir William Temple, are all the names that readily occur. Dryden declared to Congreve that he owed his own prose style,—much the best of these,—to the frequent perusal of the sermons of Tillotson, and although we have not exactly this avowal from Addison, it was probably in great measure his case likewise. There is a tradition that he regarded these excellent discourses as the highest authority for *language*; and Dr. Johnson informs us that there had been sent to him a set of examples of the use of words drawn from Tillotson by Addison, who had once projected an English dictionary. This prelate was perhaps the first of our great preachers whose diction was sufficiently free from latinisms and scholastic terms to serve as a general model, and so pure was his taste, that even now the learner in the art of composition could scarcely draw from a better or more authentic source than his “well of English undefiled.”

Addison's style is characterised by Dr. Johnson in an elaborate passage, too well known for quotation, in which he gives large praise, though pretty evidently without corresponding sentiments of admiration. In one point however he has, inadvertently no doubt, defrauded his author of his just meed of public gratitude, by omitting to commemorate Addison as

an eminent *reformer* of the English tongue at a period of its lowest declension, when common speech and all familiar writing were overrun with cant phrases, ridiculous contractions, and other gross barbarisms disgraceful to a lettered people. The critic has also failed to point out, what indeed it may be questioned if he felt or appreciated, the *poetical*, in contradistinction to the *rhetorical* character, which lends enchantment to the eloquence of this delicious writer.

Since the time of Dr. Johnson, Addison's style has once been characterised partly in contrast to his own, with such clearness and elegance of discrimination, and such power and felicity of language, as to leave nothing to his biographer but to transcribe the passage.

“The style of Addison is pure and clear, rather diffuse than concentrated, and ornamented to the highest degree consistent with good taste. But this ornament consists in the splendor of imagery, not in the ordonnance of words ; his readers will seek in vain for those sonorous cadences with which the public ear has been familiarised since the writings of Dr. Johnson. They will find no stately magnificence of phrase, no trials of sentences artfully balanced, so as to form a sweep of harmony at the close of a period.

“His words are genuine English, he deals little in inversions, and often allows himself to conclude neg-

ligently with a trivial word. The fastidious ear may occasionally be offended with some colloquial phrases, and some expressions which would not now, perhaps, be deemed perfectly accurate, the remains of barbarisms which he more than any one had laboured to banish from good writing; but the best judges have doubted, whether our language has not lost more than it has gained since his time. An idiomatic style gives a truth and spirit to a composition, that is but ill compensated by an elaborate pomp, which sets written composition at too great a distance from speech, for which it is only the substitute." *

In the forty years which have elapsed since these sentences were written, it is gratifying to think how much ground the school of Addison has regained upon that of Dr. Johnson.

While the fame of Addison was advancing to maturity by a secret growth,—for his share in the *Spectator* was not yet avowed, though pretty widely known or suspected,—it is highly gratifying to trace him in his various intercourses with the men of letters and science his contemporaries, which appear to have been uniformly of a liberal and friendly character.

William Whiston, a name become almost pro-

* Selections from the *Spectator*, *Tatler*, *Guardian* and *Freeholder*: with a preliminary Essay by Anna Lætitia Barbauld. 3 vols. 8vo. London 1804.

verbial for a downright honesty and sincerity deaf to all the cautions of worldly prudence,—for a childlike simplicity in the ways of men, combined with clear intuition into the depths of abstruse science,—had about this time suffered expulsion from the university of Cambridge, and deprivation not only of his catechetical lectureship, but of the mathematical professorship in which Newton had appointed him his successor, on a charge of heresy. Being thus stripped of all his sources of emolument, he had repaired to London at once to publish what he regarded as the grievances of his case, and to seek some means of subsistence for his family. It is not probable that he should have been previously known to Addison otherwise than by character, but he, honoring in him, neither, it is probable the Arian nor the enthusiastic champion of the genuineness of the Apostolical Constitutions, but the man who was ready to sacrifice all for conscience' sake, scrupled not in this emergency to stand forth openly as his patron.

Whiston in his *Life of himself*, makes grateful mention of his kindness in the following terms. “Mr. Addison, my particular friend, who with his friend sir Richard Steele brought me, upon my banishment from Cambridge, to have many astronomical lectures at Button's coffee-house, near Covent Garden, to the agreeable entertainment of a good number of curious persons, and the procuring me and my family

some comfortable support under my banishment." The intercourse thus begun did not cease with the occasion; the attachment of worthy Whiston followed his benefactor, as we shall observe, even to his death-bed.

Dr. Clarke, who had already distinguished himself by the publication of those admirably reasoned sermons on the being and attributes of a God which Pope unworthily made the subject of an ignorant and flippant sarcasm, published in 1712 an edition of Cæsar's Commentaries which did him honour as a philologist. Addison, with a generous alacrity, seized the opportunity of thus commemorating the work and its editor in his 367th Spectator. "The new edition which is given us of Cæsar's Commentaries, has already been taken notice of in foreign Gazettes, and is a work that does honour to the English press. It is no wonder that an edition should be very correct, which has passed through the hands of one of the most accurate, learned and judicious writers this age has produced." It was probably about the same time that we find him stimulating to controversy on a new and curious metaphysical subject, two eminent disputants, of whom Clarke was one. Berkley, afterwards bishop of Cloyne, on the publication of his "Principles of Human Knowledge," had sent copies of the work both to Whiston and Clarke, perhaps by way of challenge. Whiston frankly de-

clared that he understood nothing of the matter, but wished that Clarke would answer it. This task however had not been undertaken by this able writer when, some years after, Addison procured a personal conference between him and Berkley. It ended unsatisfactorily, as disputations of this nature are wont to do; Berkley complaining that his antagonist, though unable to reply to his arguments, refused to own himself convinced:—a dilemma in fact to which the Berkeleian system of immaterialism has often reduced the most able and unprejudiced inquirers. In the mental constitution of Addison every thing turned to nourishment for the fancy, and it is probably to the hypothesis of Berkley that we owe the beautiful tale of Maraton and Yaratilda, which transports us into the world of spirits and empty shades.

Pope's Essay on Criticism, published in 1711, was made the topic of a Spectator, (No. 253) worthy of our particular notice as the immediate occasion of an acquaintance which Addison had too much reason, in the sequel, to number with the chief infelicities of his life. This paper opens with the observation, that nothing more denotes a great mind than the abhorrence of envy and detraction, and that this passion reigns more among bad poets than among any other set of men. After a beautiful passage commemorating the good understanding in which "the greatest wits ever produced in one age,"—those of the reign

of Augustus, —lived together, and the generosity with which they celebrated one another, an unfavorable comparison is thus drawn. “In our country a man seldom sets up for a poet without attacking the reputation of all his brothers in the art. The ignorance of the moderns, the scribblers of the age, the decay of poetry, are the topics of detraction with which he makes his entrance into the world. I am sorry to find that an author who is very justly esteemed among the best judges, has admitted some strokes of this nature into a very fine poem, I mean the *Art of Criticism*, which was published some months since, and is a master-piece in its kind.” After this exordium several remarks succeed, all of a laudatory kind, and some of the more remarkable lines where the sound is designed to make an echo to the sense, are quoted. On the whole, the notice deserves to be regarded as a partial one; for doubtless the sagacity of Addison cannot have failed to perceive in this very juvenile performance, a multitude of errors, and even absurdities, which his candor, and the indications afforded by this very piece of a genius from the ripeness of which immortal fruits might be anticipated, withheld him from even hinting to the world. The youthful poet immediately paid his acknowledgements for this act of generosity to Steele, with whom he was already acquainted, having submitted his *Messiah* to his

criticism, after which the piece had been published in the Spectator. Steele returned him an answer in the following terms:

Dear sir,

I have received your very kind letter. That part of it which is grounded upon your belief that I have much affection and friendship for you, I receive with great pleasure. That which acknowledges the honour done to your "Essay," I have no pretence to; it was written by one whom I will make you acquainted with, which is the best return I can make to you for your favour to, sir

&c.*

This intimation gave occasion to a very respectful letter from Pope to Addison, in which it will be seen that he kisses the rod of the critic, and even promises, on a second edition, to expunge such strokes of satire against contemporaries as he may be pleased to point out. We still find however in the edition of the Essay which received the author's last corrections, some contemptuous expressions pointed at Dennis, which were the commencement of the long and savage hostilities waged between Pope and this

* Steele's Correspondence I. 234.

critic, and of Pope's share in which Addison on a later occasion marked his strong disapprobation.

TO MR. ADDISON.

Sir

I have past part of this Xmas with some honest Country Gentlemen, who have Wit enough to be good-natured but no manner of Relish for Criticism or polite writing, as you may easily conclude when I tell you they never read the Spectator. This was the Reason I did not see that of y^e 28th till yesterday at my Return home, wherein tho' it be y^e highest satisfaction to find myself commended by a Person whom all y^e world commends, yet I am not more obliged to you for that, than for your Candour and Frankness in acquainting me with y^e Errour I have been guilty of in speaking too freely of my Brother-Moderns. Tis indeed y^e common method of all counterfeits in Wit, as well as in Physic, to begin with warning us of others' Cheats, in order to make y^e more Way for their own. But if ever this Essay be thought worth a second edition, I shall be very glad to strike out all such strokes which you shall be so kind as to point out to me: I shall really be proud of being corrected; for I believe 'tis with y^e Errors of y^e Mind, as with y^e Weeds of a Field, w^h if they are consumed upon y^e Place, enrich and improve it

more, than if none had ever grown there. Some of y^e Faults of that book, I myself have found, and more (I am confident) others have, enough at least to have made me very humble, had not you given this public approbation of it, which I can look upon only as y^e effect of that Benevolence you have ever been so ready to show to any, who but make it their endeavour to do well. But as a little Rain revives a flower, which too much overcharges and depresses, so moderate praise encourages a young writer, but a great deal may injure him; and you have been so lavish in this Point, that I almost hope (not to call in Question your Judgement in y^e Piece,) that 'twas some particular partial Inclination to y^e Author which carried you so far. This would please me more than I can express, for I should in good earnest be fonder of your Friendship than the World's applause. I might hope too to deserve it better, since a man may more easily answer for his own sincerity, than his own Wit. And if y^e highest Esteem built on y^e justest ground in y^e World, together with Gratitude for an obligation so unexpectedly conferred, can oblige a Man to be ever your's, I beg you to believe no one is more so than

Sir, your most Faithful and ob^t.

humble servant

A. POPE.*

* Tickell papers. The letter has never before appeared in print.

When “pastoral Philips” produced in 1712 his tragedy of the Distressed Mother, founded on the *Andromache* of Racine, but adapted with much skill and good taste to the English stage, it was supplied with a humorous epilogue ascribed to Budgell, in the concluding paper of the 7th volume of the *Spectator*, but of which the following story was traditional in the family of Tonson. That it was in fact Addison’s, and was actually printed with his name; but that he came early in the morning, before the copies were taken off, and ordered it to be given to Budgell, that it might add weight to the solicitations he was then making to procure him a place. The truth of the anecdote seems to be vouched by the behaviour of Budgell himself, who openly bestowed on the piece even extravagant praises, and loudly called for its repetition at the theatre. Such a method of assisting two friends at once does credit, it must be owned, to the ingenuity, if not the ingenuousness of its contriver. But, not content with this secret service to Philips, though enforced by the zealous and indeed somewhat fulsome panegyric of the good-natured Steele in the 290th *Spectator*, Addison further availed himself of the happy thought of carrying his own sir Roger to the representation of the Distressed Mother; and out of the innocent remarks of the rustic baronet, to which says he, “I was very attentive, because I looked upon them as a piece of natural

criticism," he has constructed a very elegant and complimentary account of the tragedy. From this Spectator, it may be remarked by the way, that Fielding has taken more than the hint of his relation of the behaviour of Partridge at the play, and it must be owned that ignorance so gross appears somewhat more consistent in the person of a country barber than of a gentleman of family and fortune; — but to cast ridicule on the country party, then strongly tory, if not jacobite, was doubtless a secret purpose of the author even in his favorite character of sir Roger.

It was doubtless to a constant readiness to perform the offices of social kindness, not unaided by the refined politeness and the talent for elegant compliment of which his letters afford so many examples, that Addison owed his rare exemption from the usual penalty of distinguished and successful merit. Detraction, during his lifetime, rarely approached him, and not only was he crowned by the general suffrage, but rival wits made it their glory to be known for his friends and eulogists. The most signal display of the public sentiment in his favor was made on occasion of the performance of his tragedy of Cato in April 1713.

Concerning the production and reception of this celebrated piece many particulars have been transmitted to us, some on better some on worse authority; the account of Tickell, which claims our full reliance,

is as follows: "The tragedy of Cato appeared in public in the year 1713, when the greatest part of the last act was added by the author to the foregoing, which he had kept by him for many years. He took up a design of writing a play upon this subject when he was very young at the university, and even attempted something in it there, though not a line as it now stands. The work was performed by him in his travels, and retouched in England, without any formed resolution of bringing it upon the stage, till his friends of the first quality and distinction prevailed with him to put the last finishing to it, at a time when they thought the doctrine of liberty very seasonable. It is in every body's memory, with what applause it was received by the public; that the first run of it lasted for a month; and then stopped only because one of the performers became incapable of acting a principal part. The author received a message, that the Queen would be pleased to have it dedicated to her: but as he had designed that compliment elsewhere, he found himself obliged by his duty on the one side and his honour on the other, to send it into the world without a dedication. The fame of this tragedy soon spread through Europe, and it has not only been translated, but acted in most of the languages of Christendom."

The duchess of Marlborough is understood to have

been the person for whom the dedication was designed, and the author doubtless took the ground of party, as well as gentlemanly honour, in declining to mortify the heroine of the whigs in her state of disfavor by compliance with the suggested wish of royalty.

Colley Cibber in his *Apology* says, that so long before as 1703, he had the pleasure of reading the four first acts, all that were then written, privately with Steele, who told him that "whatever spirit Mr. Addison had shown in his writing it, he doubted that he would never have courage enough to let his *Cato* stand the censure of an English audience; that it had only been the amusement of his leisure hours in Italy, and was never intended for the stage." He agrees with Tickell in ascribing the completion of the play to the entreaties of Addison's friends, at the latter end of queen Anne's reign, when the administration had passed into other hands, and they "thought it a proper time to animate the public with the sentiments of *Cato*." The piece was represented at Drury Lane, of which theatre Cibber was at this time a joint patentee and manager, and, as he attests, to constantly crowded houses. The celebrated Booth, then a young actor, "made his fortune," by playing the part of *Cato*. It was afterwards performed by the same company at various provincial capitals, and at Oxford; and here, says the manager,

“on our first day of acting it, our house was in a manner invested, and entrance demanded by twelve o’clock at noon; and before one, it was not wide enough for many, who came too late for their places. The same crowds continued for three days together, an uncommon curiosity in that place; and the death of Cato triumphed over the injuries of Cæsar every where.” Cibber’s account supplies one further circumstance highly honorable to the liberality of Addison. “As the author had made us a present of whatever profits he might have claimed from it, we thought ourselves obliged to spare no cost in the proper decorations of it.”

Dr. Young, apparently no careful relater of matters of fact, speaks of this tragedy as having been sent to Dryden to recommend it to the theatre, and returned by him “with many commendations, but with his opinion that on the stage it would not meet with its deserved success.” That Dryden had seen some early dramatic attempt of Addison’s he has indeed himself informed us, but clearly not that Cato which the world admires. Pope, to whom its author imparted it, expressed the same judgement of its unfitness for the stage erroneously ascribed to Dryden; to which Addison replied, that it was his own opinion, but that his consent to the performance had now been extorted by friends who thought differently. That the genuine sentiment

of the author was what is here expressed, we may fairly conclude from his extraordinary reluctance to set himself to the task of supplying the indispensable fifth act which was still deficient. Mr. Maynwaring has left it upon record, that he actually desired Mr. Hughes to add a fifth act. This gentleman, afterwards the author of the *Siege of Damascus*, but at this time young and little known, with a somewhat presumptuous readiness, took him at his word; and in a few days brought him a portion of his intended continuation, but found that he had himself been at work, and had achieved about half the act. "I was told this," says Mr. Maynwaring, "by Mr. Hughes, and I tell it to show that it was not for the love scenes that Mr. Addison consented to have his tragedy acted, but to support the old Roman and English public spirit among his countrymen." Taken in connection with these circumstances we may well put faith in Dr. Johnson's anecdote, that while it continued to be performed night after night without intermission, "the author, as Mrs. Porter related, wandered through the whole exhibition behind the scenes with restless and unappeasable solicitude." He was now too rich in the fruits of literary enterprise to hazard himself willingly on a forlorn hope; and such the remarks of his literary friends must have led him to regard the act of giving his tragedy to the stage. But

every circumstance was in his favour. The whig leaders who had urged him to make this noble protest in behalf of the spirit of freedom at a time of just alarm from the machinations of a jacobite party in the very cabinet ; — or, in the language of Dr. Johnson, “those who *affected* to think liberty in danger, and had *affected* likewise to think that a stage play might preserve it,” were loud in their applause of every glowing sentiment. The tories, not choosing to take to themselves the implied satire, seconded these applauses with equal vehemence, if not equal sincerity. For the first night, Steele says that he had undertaken to pack an audience, — apparently a very needless precaution, — and that nothing might be wanting, Pope gave a prologue, of which it is little to say that it puts to shame all earlier performances in this kind, since it rises to the moral sublime ; and Garth wrote a humourous epilogue.

A passage in one of the published letters of Pope to sir William Trumbull brings the scene before us, while it intimates on the part of the writer some distaste at being mixed up in a whig triumph, and no great pleasure in the success of the author, to whom he professed friendship.

..... “As to poetical affairs, I am content at present to be a bare looker-on, and from a practitioner turn an admirer, which is (as the world goes) not very usual. Cato was not so much the wonder

of Rome in his days, as he is of Britain in ours ; and though all the foolish industry possible has been used to make it thought a party-play, yet what the author once said of another may the most properly in the world be applied to him on this occasion,

‘ Envy itself is dumb, in wonder lost,

‘ And factions strive who shall applaud him most.’

The numerous and violent claps of the whig party on the one side of the theatre, were echoed back by the tories on the other ; while the author sweated behind the scenes with concern to find their applause proceeding more from the hand than the head. This was the case too of the prologue writer, who was clapped into a stanch whig at almost every two lines. I believe you have heard, that after all the applauses of the opposite faction, my lord Bolingbroke sent for Booth, who played Cato, into the box, between one of the acts, and presented him with fifty guineas ; in acknowledgment (as he expressed it) for defending the cause of liberty so well against a Perpetual Dictator.* The whigs are unwilling to be distanced this way, and therefore design a present to the same Cato very speedily ; in the meantime they are getting ready as good a sentence as the former on their side : so betwixt them it is probable

* The long sway of the Duke of Marlborough was here glanced at.

that Cato (as Dr. Garth express'd it) may have something to live upon after he dies."

When this triumphant performance had been continued, as it should seem, during a greater number of nights than any play had before been suffered to run, the publication was of course the next step. This ordeal, which has proved too severe for many of the best acting plays, had in it nothing formidable for Cato. If the wise man of the Stoics, with his solemn dignity and impassive virtue, had been invested by the poet in his last tragic scene with enough of human interest to engage the sympathies of an audience, there could be little doubt of his conciliating the admiration and esteem of the reader. In effect, the experience of more than a century has now shown, that although this noble work may occasionally be restored to the stage with success during some particular states of political feeling, and when aided by the powers of an actor distinguished by the talent of impressive declamation, and endowed with sufficient dignity of figure and carriage fitly to impersonate the noble Roman, it is scarcely to be reckoned in the ordinary list of stock plays; but so long as English literature exists, it can scarcely lose its rank among closet pieces. Thus Dr. Johnson, after remarking with much more than enough of severity, on the failure of all the subordinate characters strongly to attract affection or esteem, adds,

that “ they are made the vehicles of such sentiments and such expression, that there is scarcely a scene in the play which the reader does not wish to impress upon his memory.” The eminent applicability of the last remark is evinced by the extraordinary number of *quoted lines* with which Cato, even more than the other poems of Addison, has enriched our language ; of this number are the following :

“ The woman who deliberates is lost.”

——— “ Plant daggers in my heart.”

“ ’Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we’ll do more Sempronius, we’ll deserve it.”

“ The pale unripen’d beauties of the north.”

“ ’Tis not a set of features, or complexion,
The tincture of a skin that I admire.”

“ Painful pre-eminence.”

“ Curse on his virtues, they’ve undone his country !”

These and others of the fine thoughts and pointed expressions with which the piece abounds, still circulate among us like current coin, though often now passed, it may be feared, with little thought or knowledge of the mint which issued them.

When Dr. Johnson remarks, that the success of Cato “ has introduced or confirmed among us the use of dialogue too declamatory, of unaffecting elegance and chill philosophy,” he overlooks, or possibly was unskilled to explore, a more probable origin of the faults which he indicates, and which he has himself exemplified. These are found in Philips, Rowe, Hughes,

and other contemporaries, to at least as great a degree as in Addison, in whom they are palliated, if not entirely justified, by the nature of his subject; and they may surely be traced to imitation of the masters of French tragedy, whose genius, like the ambition of their monarch, had gone near to giving law to all Europe. With respect to Philips's *Distressed Mother*, this origin is unquestionable, and little less so with respect to *Cato*; since Addison always expressed himself concerning Corneille and Racine with marked esteem, and seems to have laid the plan and begun the execution of his tragedy during his long sojourn at Blois, while he was making the study of the French language his principal occupation. In the conduct of his plot he has made considerable sacrifices to a rigid observance of the unities of time and place, as laid down by Aristotle, and it can scarcely be doubted that this restraint, unknown to our earlier dramatists, was imposed upon him as an indispensable law by the precepts and practice of the French school of dramatic art.

That the tragedy of *Cato* does not appeal strongly to the passions, may be frankly conceded; but whatever be said of its "unaffected elegance and chill philosophy," it is at least free from the error which Boileau so forcibly remarked to Addison himself in the manner of Corneille. The speakers run neither into description nor declamation uncon-

nected with the business of the scene, or unsuited to the persons or the occasion. Severe correctness and good taste preside alike over the sentiments and the diction.

The versification, though deficient in the richness and variety of pause which charms in our elder dramatists, and, like all blank verse of this period, constructed with too much resemblance to the rhymed couplet, is yet easy and graceful; and certainly far preferable to that of Rowe, then the most popular tragic writer.

In contemplation of Cato's appearance from the press, the literary friends of Addison flocked round him, each bearing his tribute of laudatory verse; an attention which occasioned him some embarrassment, if we may judge from the following letter.

MR. ADDISON TO MR. HUGHES.

Dear sir

April 24. 1713.

This is to acquaint you that I am obliged to practise a great piece of self-denial; In short, I must deprive my play of the noble ornament you designed for it. My friends, who all of them concur with me in admiring your beautiful copy of verses, are however of opinion that it will draw upon me an imputation of vanity, and as my play has met with an unexpected reception, I must take particular care not to aggravate the envy and ill-nature that will rise on

course upon me. Besides, to tell you truly, I have received other poems upon the same occasion, and one or two from persons of quality, who will never pardon me if I do not give them a place at the same time that I print any other. I know your good sense and friendship towards me will not let you put a wrong interpretation upon this matter, and I am sure I need not tell you with what sincerity and esteem, I am, Sir

Your most obliged and most faithful servant.*

Hughes, though mortified doubtless at this second frustration of his hopes of engrafting his own name on those of Addison and Cato, expressed with a good grace his concurrence in the suggested reasons against the publication of his lines. What occurred afterwards to change the determination we do not learn, but the tragedy appeared at last without any *verses by a person of quality* prefixed, but accompanied by testimonials of merit from Steele, Hughes, Young, Eusden, Tickell, Digby Cotes, and Ambrose Philips. There were also some "Lines left with the printer by an unknown hand," of which Dr. Johnson says that they are the best, but "will perhaps lose somewhat of their praise when the author is known to be Jeffreys." Who was this author? is a question which has fre-

* Hughes's Letters I. 67.

quently been asked, and many readers, little exact in matters of chronology and acquainted with but one Jeffreys, "damned to everlasting fame," have conceived that the unrighteous judge must be the person referred to. He however had been more than twenty years in his grave, and the person intended was George Jeffreys, son of a Northamptonshire gentleman and nephew of James earl of Chandos, who was in 1701 a fellow of Christchurch Cambridge, and secretary to Dr. Hartstonge bishop of Derry, but afterwards resided chiefly under the roof of two successive dukes of Chandos, engaged in no profession, but devoting to literature a long life of leisure. He wrote two tragedies, and gave translations from Horace, and of Vida on chess; published by subscription in 1753 two quarto volumes of Miscellanies in verse and prose, and died two years afterwards, aged 77. Some of his literary correspondence is printed in Hughes's Letters. (2nd. edit. 1773.) His writings appear to have been feeble efforts, they had little success in his own time, and are now forgotten; but it is difficult to conceive by what offence a person apparently as innocuous as inconspicuous could have drawn upon himself so labored an expression of Dr. Johnson's contempt.

The verses in question are happy in thought, and elegant in expression, and it was an act of cruelty in the critic to pluck at the single bay leaf with which

the niggard Muse had deigned to crown the homage of so persevering and devoted a suitor.

We have not the means of knowing whether Addison felt it as any very serious interruption to the enjoyment of his well-earned fame, that Dennis, emphatically surnamed *the Critic*, now thought proper to make his Cato the object of a furious attack.

It is creditable neither to the taste nor the temper of Dr. Johnson, that he should have preserved this coarse and virulent diatribe from merited oblivion by his large extracts. A very brief notice of it shall here suffice. "Detraction," said Burke, "is allied to none of the virtues," and as little affinity can it claim with any of the higher powers of intellect. To demonstrate, of any poetical creation whatever, that it wants in some respects the consistency and probability of truth and nature, is a task as easy, as that of fixing upon defects alone, and of aggravating and holding them up to scorn by the employment of vulgar and debasing expressions, is odious and despicable. Neither of them will be the office of any one on whom nature has bestowed that precious gift of sensibility which is the prime, the indispensable requisite for judging of all that appeals to the sense of the beautiful or sublime.

Let every reader jealous of the delicacy of his taste, or anxious not to dry up in himself the sources of the purest and most exalted pleasures, shun as his

bane these wretched disenchanters, who blast with their pestiferous breath the very roses of paradise.

Both the policy of the author and the dignity of the gentleman required that such an attack should remain without direct notice, and the mild temper of Addison enabled him without effort to obey their dictates; but there was one who refused to be influenced in this respect by his example, or guided by his wish. Dennis had not permitted the unprovoked assault upon him by Pope in his *Essay on Criticism* to go unpunished. He had taken his revenge first by strictures on the *Essay on Criticism*, and afterwards by remarks on the *Rape of the Lock*, still more ferocious, and written with a still denser insensibility to poetical beauties than his remarks on *Cato*. Pope was now lying in wait for a favorable opportunity of retaliation, and wishing to earn by the same effort the character of a formidable enemy and a zealous friend, he grounded on Dennis's strictures on *Cato* a burlesque piece entitled, "Dr. Norris's Account concerning the strange and deplorable frenzy of John Dennis." It was obviously however no part of the real purpose of the author to defend the tragedy, all the objections to which were left in their full force, while unmeasured reproach and contumely were cast upon the character, the qualifications, and even the poverty of the critic; mingled with scurrilities truly loathsome. Enchanted, as it should seem, with his

fair performance, Pope caused it to be immediately imparted to Addison, whose sentiments respecting it were thus conveyed through the printer.

MR. STEELE TO MR. LINTOT.

Mr. Lintot

August 4. 1712.

Mr. Addison desired me to tell you he wholly disapproves of the manner of treating Mr. Dennis in a little pamphlet by way of Dr. Norris's Account. When he thinks fit to take notice of Mr. Dennis's objections to his writings, he will do it in a way that Mr. Dennis shall have no just reason to complain of: but when the papers above mentioned were communicated to him, he said he could not either in *honour* or *conscience* be privy to such a treatment, and was sorry to hear of it.*

I am sir &c.

* The *objections* of Dennis to his Cato were never answered by Addison in any manner; but he may be thought to have designed a just reprehension of the tone and spirit of the remarks of this fierce critic *because* unsuccessful dramatist, in the 592nd Spectator, where we find, among others, these keen strokes: I do not indeed wonder that the actors should be such professed enemies to those among our nation who are commonly known by the name of critics, since it is a rule among these gentlemen to fall upon a play not because it is ill written, but because it takes. Several of them lay it down as a maxim, that whatever dramatic performance has a long run, must of neces-

This rebuke had not the effect of inducing Pope to suppress the piece, but he wrote a handsome letter to Addison on the occasion, which however has much of his genuine character and temper in it, and runs thus :

MR. POPE TO MR. ADDISON.

July 20. 1713.

I am more joy'd at your return than I should be at that of the sun, so much as I wish for him this melancholy wet season ; but 'tis his fate too, like yours, to be displeasing to owls and obscure animals, who cannot bear his lustre. What put me in mind of these night birds was John Dennis, whom I think you are best revenged upon, as the sun was in the fable, upon those bats and beastly birds above mentioned, only by *shining on*. I am so far from esteeming it any misfortune, that I congratulate you upon having your share in that, which all the great men and all the good men that ever lived have had their

sity be good for nothing ; as though the first precept of poetry were *not to please*. Whether this rule holds good or not, I leave to the determination of those who are better judges than myself : If it does, I am sure it tends very much to the honour of those gentlemen who have established it ; few of their pieces having been disgraced by a run of three days, and most of them being so exquisitely written, that the town would never give them more than one night's hearing.

part of, Envy and Calumny. To be uncensured and to be obscure, is the same thing. You may conclude from what I here say, that 'twas never in my thoughts to have offered you my pen in any direct reply to such a Critic, but only in some little raillery; not in defence of you, but in contempt of him. But indeed your opinion that 'tis to be entirely neglected, would have been my own had it been my own case; but I felt more warmth here than I did when first I saw his book against myself, (tho' indeed in two minutes it made me heartily merry.) He has written against every thing the world has approv'd these many years. I apprehend but one danger from Dennis's disliking our sense, that it may make us think so very well of it, as to become proud and conceited upon his disapprobation.

I must not here omit to do justice to Mr. Gay, whose zeal in your concerns is worthy a friend and honor of you. He writ to me in the most pressing terms about it, though with that just contempt of the Critic that he deserves. I think in these days one honest man is obliged to acquaint another who are his friends; when so many mischievous insects are daily at work to make people of merit suspicious of each other; that they may have the satisfaction of seeing them looked upon no better than themselves. I am

Your &c.

Before we quit the subject of Cato, it seems proper to quote from Dr. Johnson an enumeration of the further honours which it received. "It was censured as a party play by a *Scholar of Oxford*, and defended in a favorable examination by Dr. Sewel. It was translated by Salvini into Italian, and acted at Florence ; and by the jesuits of St. Omers into Latin, and played by their pupils." A French version speedily appeared, and it may be added that sooner or later it has been made to assume the dress of almost every European language, not excepting the Russian.

This subject may be closed with a letter from the worthy Dr. Smalridge, dean of Carlisle and canon of Christchurch Oxon. referring to the representation of Cato at Oxford, and further interesting as affording proof of the intimate connection now subsisting between Addison and the noble house of Warwick. There had been a long university friendship between this divine, who soon after became bishop of Bristol, and Addison ; who appears from the beginning of the letter, to have ascribed some part of the merit of his own Spectators to suggestions thrown out, or sentiments imparted by his friend in the course of conversation. The distinguishing merit of Smalridge seems to have consisted in a candor and suavity of disposition and an impartial benevolence which, in the midst of the bitter contentions of factions reli-

gious and political, enabled him to retain the esteem and affection of all. He was appointed by the university the official defender of Sacheverel, yet extended his good offices to Whiston, and it was perhaps this catholic spirit which Addison was conscious of having imbibed from his society.

DR. SMALRIDGE TO MR. ADDISON.

Dear S^rCh. Ch. Aug^t. 2^d. 1713.

I sh^d be guilty of the highest degree of vanity, if I accepted as any ways due, those Complements you are pleas'd to make me. I have often spoke of y^e Spectators and your other excellent performances in such a style, as I sh^d have been asham'd to have us'd, had I been conscious, that y^e least share of that applause belong'd to myself.

Mr. Fowkes is gone to Chester; I have by letter told him when y^e Lady Warwick intends to be here, that he may be back again to wait on her Ladyship. The Distance is great, & it will be a favour to him not to be call'd away too quickly from his Relations. But he will adjust his Motions to her Ladyship's conveniency, & will be at Oxford whenever she shall be pleas'd to direct. It will be convenient that we sh^d know whether my Lord brings any one with him to attend Him.

I gave myself y^e pleasure of seeing Cato acted, &

heartily wish all Discourses from y^e Pulpit were
as instructive & edifying, as pathetic & affecting,
as that w^h y^e Audience was then entertained with
from the Stage.

I am, Dear S^r

Your most faithful & most Humble

Servant

GEORGE SMALRIDGE.*

* Tickell papers.

CHAPTER XI.

1712 to 1715.

QUARREL OF POPE WITH ADDISON. PREFACE TO TICKELL'S ILIAD,
AND LETTERS CONCERNING IT.

OF all the topics of literary biography, the quarrels of authors are the least instructive and the least agreeable. It is mortifying to learn how little those master-spirits, whom we look up to with feelings of reverence and gratitude as the moulders of our minds and the lamps of our path, have sometimes known how to rule their own spirits, or to shun the obvious errors and frailties of ordinary mortals; and nothing but the paramount obligations of truth and justice, which are never to be evaded, could compel the present writer to enter upon a theme so painful. The life of Addison, thanks to the amenity of his disposition and the moderation of his conduct, offers but one incident of the kind, but his difference with Pope has already engaged too much of the public attention from the celebrity of the parties, and the serious results to the reputation of both, to be passed over without a careful investigation of its causes and

circumstances. For this purpose it is necessary to look a little backwards.

Addison's remarks on the Essay on Criticism in the Spectator, in which, with so just a sense of the characteristics of the writer, he had blended high commendation of his genius with reprehension of his satirical propensity, have been already brought before the reader, together with the circumstances of the personal acquaintance to which they gave rise. Some months afterwards appeared No. 523 of the same work, which opens thus: "I am always highly delighted with the discovery of any rising genius among my countrymen. For this reason I have read over with great pleasure the late Miscellany published by Mr. Pope, in which there are many compositions of that ingenious gentleman. I have had a pleasure of the same kind in perusing a poem that is just published *on the Prospect of Peace*, and which I hope will meet with such a reward from its patrons as so noble a performance deserves. I was particularly pleased to find that the author had not amused himself with fables out of the pagan theology, and that when he hints at any thing of this nature, he alludes to it only as a fable." "If," proceeds the writer after some further remarks on the subject, "any are of opinion that there is a necessity of admitting these classical legends into our serious compositions, in order to give them a more poetical turn, I would

recommend to their consideration the Pastorals of Mr. Philips. One would have thought it impossible for this kind of poetry to have subsisted without Fauns and Satyrs, Wood-nymphs and Water-nymphs, with all the tribe of rural deities. But we see he has given a new life and a more natural beauty to this way of writing, by substituting in the place of these antiquated fables, the superstitious mythology which prevails among the shepherds of our own country." That Addison was perfectly sincere in what may be called his negative approbation, cannot be questioned, since it was his own "Campaign" which had set the wholesome example of rejecting the tiresome pedantry of classical mythology; and he was certainly well entitled to promulgate his critical canons; at the same time it was natural that Pope, to whom his poetical reputation was dear as the breath of life itself, should find in them ground of deep though secret offence. The cold generalities of the approbation granted to his Miscellanies, comprehending his Pastorals, contrasted with the earnest and affectionate recommendation of Tickell's poem to the notice and recompense of men in power, would appear more of a slight than a compliment; while the praise of Philips's Pastorals, on the express ground of his rejection of the classical models, was a direct condemnation of his own elaborate and unmeaning, though harmonious and elegant performances in the

same kind; formed as they entirely are on imitation of the ancients. It would be satisfactory to believe that Addison, intent upon the main object of his paper, which was clearly that of rendering a service to his friends Tickell and Philips, inflicted these wounds on the sensitive spirit of Pope inadvertently, rather than by design. But that he had held the satirical spirit of the youthful poet worthy of grave reprehension, we know; that he might think his vanity and self-importance deserving of rebuke is highly probable; and it is certainly not impossible that some feelings of literary jealousy mingling, unknown to himself, with the whole, might render too welcome to him the office of administering wholesome mortification to a young and formidable rival.

On the whole however, both parties had too much merit, as well as taste and discernment, not to do justice to one another; and each in turn, notwithstanding some distrust and a want of cordial liking, sought to avail himself of the critical acumen of the other. Thus it was by Addison's advice that Pope completed and gave to the public the Temple of Fame; and when he had conceived the felicitous idea of engrafting on his first draught of the Rape of the Lock that exquisite Rosicrucian machinery to which it owes its highest poetical beauties, he hastened to take the opinion of the same counsellor. Addison however sought to dissuade him from the

attempt. "It was a charming thing as it stood," he said, "*merum sal*; and it was a pity to meddle with it." Pope however, to whose "eye of mind" his sylphs had doubtless revealed themselves with graces which he could not as yet render visible to another, persisted, fortunately for us, in his design, and some of his biographers, judging from the event, have brought this dissuasion in proof of the jealousy of his seeming friend. A similar judgement might by parity of reasoning be passed on an opinion given by Pope; who, being trusted by Addison with a view of the manuscript of *Cato*, advised him not to venture it on the stage. In both cases it would be but justice to consider, that the probabilities were clearly on the negative side; for a piece already finished and excellent in its kind has rarely been improved by re-casting, and the theatrical success of *Cato*, notwithstanding its merits as a poem, would have been highly improbable under ordinary circumstances. No blame therefore can reasonably attach to either party in these instances; Pope, as we have seen, bespoke the public favor for *Cato* by the noblest of all prologues, and Addison assured Pope, that he had powers to command the admiration of the whole nation, provided he did not, by plunging into party, content himself with the applauses of only half of it. Here indeed was the rock on which their friendship was most in danger of splitting. In a political

struggle so momentous as that of the latter years of queen Anne, no reflecting man could really feel himself neutral. Pope must have received a strong bias from all the circumstances of his parentage, his religion, and his early training, and repeatedly and earnestly as he disclaims the imputation, must have been a party-man in his heart from the very beginning; and he became more and more prominently so to the end of his career. Seldom indeed, in any part of his writings, will he be found offering incense to a whig, or applying the lash to a tory. His friendships with the detected jacobite conspirators Atterbury and Bolinbroke, and their suspected ally Swift, are those which he has chiefly gloried in immortalizing; and like the last of these partisans, with whom he had just contracted a strict intimacy, he had begun to pay court to Harley and his fellow-ministers. Addison is said to have pointed, with regret and displeasure, to some of the concluding lines of Windsor Forest, published during the negotiation of the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, in which the political bias was obvious.

It was in the same year that Pope, who had inserted in his first volume of *Miscellanies* some specimens of a translation of Homer, issued proposals for his *Iliad*; to be published by subscription. "Mr. Addison," he says in the preface to the work, "was the first whose advice determined me to undertake this

task, who was pleased to write to me upon that occasion in such terms as I cannot repeat without vanity." It is an observable circumstance that Addison's letters on this subject, which follow, printed in Pope's own collection of his correspondence, do not bear out the first part of this statement, though they amply attest the friendly expressions with which he encouraged the design when made aware that Pope had embarked in it.

MR. ADDISON TO MR. POPE.

Oct. 26. 1713.

I was extremely glad to receive a letter from you, but more so upon reading the contents of it. The work you mention, will I dare say, very sufficiently recommend itself when your name appears with the proposals: And if you think I can any way contribute to the forwarding of them, you cannot lay a greater obligation upon me than by employing me in such an office. As I have an ambition of having it known that you are my friend, I shall be very proud of showing it by this or any other instance. I question not but your translation will enrich our tongue and do honour to our country, for I conclude of it already from those performances with which you have obliged the public. I would only have you consider how it may most turn to your advantage. Excuse my impertinence in this par-

ticular, which proceeds from my zeal for your ease and happiness. The work would cost you a great deal of time, and unless you undertake it, will, I am afraid, never be executed by any other; at least I know none of this age that is equal to it besides yourself.

I am at present totally immersed in country business, and begin to take delight in it. I wish I might hope to see you here some time, and will not despair of it, when you engage in a work that will require solitude and retirement. I am

Your &c.

MR. ADDISON TO MR. POPE.

Nov. 2. 1713.

I have received your letter, and am glad to find that you have laid so good a scheme for your great undertaking. I question not but the prose will require as much care as the poetry, but the variety will give yourself some relief, and more pleasure to your readers.

You gave me leave once to take the liberty of a friend in advising you not to content yourself with one half of the nation for your admirers when you might command them all. If I might take the freedom to repeat it, I would on this occasion. I think you are very happy that you are out of the

fray, and I hope all your undertakings will turn to the better account for it.

You see how I presume on your friendship in taking all this freedom with you: But I already fancy that we have lived many years together in an unreserved conversation, and that we may do so many more is the sincere wish of

Your &c.

Three letters written by Pope in return, and printed in the same collection, contain much vague declamation against party, and many protestations of his own impartiality. Of his real sentiments towards his correspondent they afford no information, except that as they have even more of the parade of friendship and devotedness than was customary with this poet in his so-called familiar letters, they may be presumed to have less of sincerity. In one passage profession is carried to an absolute absurdity: "This makes me hope a letter from me will not be unwelcome to you, when I am conscious I write with more unreservedness than ever man wrote, or perhaps talked to another. I trust your good nature with the whole range of my follies, and really love you so well that I would rather you should pardon me than esteem me; since one is an act of goodness and benevolence, the other a kind of constrained deference."

It was just at the time of this correspondence that Steele launched a new periodical work called the *Guardian*, to which Pope was a contributor, together with Addison and several persons of his habitual society, and frequenters of Button's; the chief of whom were Tickell, Philips and Budgell. In this publication there appeared a set of papers on Pastoral Poetry, written by Tickell, and intended, or at least fitted, to serve as a recommendation of those eclogues of his friend Philips on which Addison had already bestowed his favourable mention. The series concluded with an allegory, which related the transmission of the true pastoral pipe through the hands of no more than four successive owners, Theocritus, Virgil, Spenser and Philips. Severely nettled at his second slight to his own claims, attended with so invidious a preference of a far inferior performer, Pope sent to the *Guardian*, shortly after, an anonymous sequel to Tickell's papers, in which he compared parallel passages of his own pastorals and those of Philips, which, under the semblance of constantly preferring them, he covered with ridicule, while he exalted his own performances. The irony was so delicate, and managed with such perfect skill, that it completely deceived Steele, who hesitated to print it, as what might be offensive to Pope. Addison however, as might be expected, saw through the artifice at once, and is said to have

heartily enjoyed the joke. Philips himself was furious; and unable to devise any adequate literary retaliation, he is accused by Pope of having made it his business to decry his character and conduct as a man, rather than to criticise him as a writer. His misrepresentations are more than once complained of, in the letters of Pope, as having been employed to injure him in the opinion of Addison, although, as it should appear, without immediate or entire success. To an anonymous correspondent he writes as follows :

“ June 8. 1714.

“ The question you ask in relation to Mr. Addison, I shall answer in a few words. Mr. Philips did express himself with much indignation against me one evening at Button's coffee house (as I was told) saying, that I was entered into a cabal with Dean Swift and others to write against the whig interest, and in particular to undermine his own reputation and that of his friends Steele and Addison Mr. Addison came to me a night or two after Philips had talked in this idle manner, and assured me of his disbelief of what had been said, of the friendship we should always maintain, and desired I would say no more of it.”

Little above a month after this time, when the death of queen Anne and the triumphant return of himself and his friends to power, gave a peculiar grace to any advances made by Addison to a favorer

or favourite of the expelled ministers, Jervas the painter is found thus addressing his friend Pope :

“ I have a particular to tell you at this time, which pleases me so much, that you must expect a more than ordinary alacrity in every turn. . . . Mr. Addison and I have had a conversation, that it would have been worth your while to have been placed behind the wainscot, or behind some half length picture to have heard. He assured me, that he would make use not only of his interest, but of his art to do you some service ; he did not mean his art of poetry, but his art at court ; and he is sensible that nothing can have a better air for himself than moving in your favour, especially since insinuations were spread, that he did not care you should prosper too much as a poet. He protests that it shall not be his fault, if there is not the best intelligence in the world, and the most hearty friendship, &c. He owns, he was afraid Dr. Swift might have carried you too far among the enemy, during the heat of the animosity ; but all now is safe, and you are escaped even in his opinion. I promised in your name . . . that you would be delighted to find him your friend merely for his own sake ; therefore prepare yourself for some civilities.”

Pope was far from meeting these advances in a confiding spirit. He thus replies to Jervas :

“ What you mention of the friendly office you endeavoured to do betwixt Mr. Addison and me, deserves acknowledgments on my part. You thoroughly know my regard to his character, and my propensity to testify it by all ways in my power. You as thoroughly know the scandalous meanness of that proceeding which was used by Philips to make a man I so highly value, suspect my dispositions toward him. But as, after all, Mr. Addison must be the judge in what regards himself, and has seemed to be no very just one to me, so, I must own to you, I expect nothing but civility from him, how much soever I wish for his friendship. As for any offices of real kindness or service which it is in his power to do me, I should be ashamed to receive them from any man who had no better opinion of my morals than to think me a party-man: nor of my temper than to believe me capable of maligning or envying another’s reputation as a poet. So I leave it to time to convince him as to both; to show him the shallow depths of those half-witted creatures who misinformed him, and to prove that I am incapable of endeavouring to lessen a person whom I would be proud to imitate and therefore ashamed to flatter. In a word, Mr. Addison is sure of my respect at all times, and of my real friendship whenever he shall think fit to know me for what I am.

“ For all that passed between Dr. Swift and me, you

know the whole (without reserve) of our correspondence. The engagements I had to him were such as the actual services he had done me, in relation to the subscription for Homer, obliged me to. I must have leave to be grateful to him, and to any one who serves me, let him be ever so obnoxious to any party: nor did the tory party ever put me to the hardship of asking this leave, which is the greatest obligation I owe to it; and I expect no greater from the whig party than the same liberty."

To Addison himself he writes as follows.

Oct. 10. 1714.

"I have been acquainted by one of my friends, who omits no opportunities of gratifying me, that you have lately been pleased to speak of me in a manner which nothing but the real respect I have for you can deserve. May I hope that some late malevolencies have lost their effect? indeed it is neither for me nor my enemies to pretend to tell you whether I am your friend or not; but if you would judge by probabilities, I beg to know which of your poetical acquaintance has so little interest in pretending to be so? Methinks no man should question the real friendship of one who desires no real service. I am only to get from the whigs as much as I got from the tories, that is to say, civility; being neither so proud as to be insensible of any good

office, nor so humble as not to dare heartily to despise any man who does me an injustice.

“ I will not value myself upon having ever guarded all the degrees of respect for you: for (to say the truth) all the world speaks well of you, and I should be under a necessity of doing the same, whether I cared for you or not.

“ As to what you have said of me, I shall never believe that the author of *Cato* can speak one thing and think another. As a proof that I account you sincere, I beg a favour of you: It is, that you would look over the two first books of my translation of *Homer*, which are in the hands of my lord Halifax. I am sensible how much the reputation of any poetical work will depend upon the character you give it: 'tis therefore some evidence of the trust I repose in your good will, when I give you the opportunity of speaking ill of me with justice; and yet expect you will tell me your truest thoughts at the same time that you tell others your most favorable ones.

“ I have a further request which I must press with earnestness. My bookseller is reprinting the *Essay on Criticism* to which you have done too much honour in your *Spectator* of N^o 253. The period in that paper where you say, I have admitted some strokes of ill nature into that *Essay*, is the only one I could wish omitted of all you have written; but I would not desire it should be so, unless I had the

merit of removing your objection. I beg you but to point out these strokes to me, and you may be assured they shall be treated without mercy." &c.

Addison's reply does not appear, but Pope related to Spence the sequel of the affair in the following terms: "There had been a coldness between Mr. Addison and me for some time, and we had not been in company together for a good while, any where but at Button's coffee house, where I used to see him almost every day. On his meeting me there one day in particular, he took me aside, and said he should be glad to dine with me at such a tavern, if I would stay till those people (Budgell and Philips) were gone. We went accordingly, and after dinner Mr. Addison said, 'that he had wanted for some time to talk with me: that his friend Tickell had formerly, whilst at Oxford, translated the first book of the Iliad. That he now designed to print it; and had desired him to look it over: he must therefore beg that I would not desire him to look over my first book, because, if he did, it would have the air of double-dealing.'

"I assured him that I did not at all take it ill of Mr. Tickell that he was going to publish his translation; that he certainly had as much right to translate any author as myself; and that publishing both was entering on a fair stage. I added, that I would not desire him to look over my first book of the

Iliad, because he had looked over Mr. Tickell's; but would wish to have the benefit of his observations on my second, which I had then finished, and which Mr. Tickell had not touched upon. Accordingly, I sent him the second book the next morning; and in a few days he returned it with very high commendation." *

It should appear that this open dealing on the part of Addison either really dispelled for a time the jealousy which Pope was likely to conceive on the disclosure of Tickell's design, or at least obliged him to dissemble it. The high encomiums bestowed by Addison on his second book had likewise, it is probable, their effect. In April 1715, when Addison was sitting to Jervas for his portrait, we learn from a letter of Gay's that Pope went to meet him, and in the same year he wrote his elegant and complimentary lines on the Dialogues on Medals, which Addison had at this time a design of publishing. But this amity was of short duration. In June following, just at the time when the first volume of Pope's Iliad, containing four books, was delivered to his long and splendid list of subscribers, the appearance of Tickell's translation of the first book rekindled all his suspicion and resentment. An advertisement was prefixed, in which the author announced, that having had the pleasure of being diverted from the

* Spence's Anecdotes by Singer.

thoughts of translating *the whole* Iliad by finding that it was fallen into a much abler hand, he published this small specimen with no other view than to bespeak if possible the favour of the public to a translation of the Odyssey in which he had made some progress: A statement which might appear expressly calculated to quiet all apprehensions of rivalry; but in which there lurked perhaps a fresh ground of offence. If, as is not improbable, Pope already looked forward to a second profitable task, he might apprehend that, occupied as he was with the remaining books of the Iliad, it would not be in his power, even with the aid of *journeymen*, of which he afterwards availed himself to so disgraceful an extent, to anticipate the completion of Tickell's Odyssey. However this might be, he henceforth regarded the little knot of whig-authors at Button's, and Addison at their head, with implacable resentment. As usual in such cases, injudicious partisans or secret enemies continually added fuel to the flame by their officious informations. Various reports were brought him of speeches in disparagement of his Homer; in particular, Addison was said to have declared that both translations were very well done, but that Tickell's had more of the Greek, — a remark which, considering the defective scholarship of Pope in comparison with what may be ascribed to an accomplished member of the university of Oxford, was likely to be just, and

certain to be the more offensive on that account. The whole venom of his rage bursts forth in some passages of one of his published letters to Mr. Craggs.

“ They tell me that the busy part of the nation are not more divided about whig and tory, than these idle fellows of the feather about Mr. T.’s and my translation. I (like the tories) have the mob, that is the town in general, on my side ; but it is usual with the smaller party to make up in industry what they want in number, and that is the case with the little senate of Cato. However, if our principles be well considered, I must appear a brave whig, and Mr. T. a rank tory : I translated Homer for the public in general, he, to gratify the inordinate desires of one man only. We have, it seems, a great Turk in poetry, who can never bear a brother on the throne ; and has his mutes too, a set of noddors, winkers and whisperers, whose business is to strangle all other offsprings of wit in their birth. The new translator of Homer is the humblest slave he has, that is to say, his first minister ; let him receive the honours he gives him, but receive them with fear and trembling ; let him be proud of the approbation of his absolute lord, I appeal to the people, as my rightful judges and masters ; and if they are not inclined to condemn me, I fear no arbitrary high-flying proceeding from the small court-faction at Button’s. But after all I have

said of this great man, there is no rupture between us. We are each of us so civil and obliging, that neither of us thinks he is obliged: And I, for my part, treat with him as we do with the Grand Monarch; who has too many great qualities not to be respected, though we know he watches any occasion to oppress us."

It will be perceived that we have here all the imagery and all the topics of reproach contained in the celebrated lines in which the satirist has stabbed at the fair fame of Addison under the name of Atticus; which we may therefore presume to have been written about the same time. In the letter, no other grounds for his resentment are shown than the encouragement which Atticus is supposed to have given to the rival translation; but Spence informs us, that Pope himself, — it must have been many years afterwards, — gave him the following account of the origin of this libellous portrait.

"Philips seemed to have been encouraged to abuse me in coffee houses and conversations: Gildon wrote a thing about Wycherley, in which he abused both me and my relations very grossly. Lord Warwick himself told me, one day, that it was in vain for me to endeavour to be well with Mr. Addison; that his jealous temper would never admit

of a settled friendship between us, and to convince me of what he had said, assured me that Addison had encouraged Gildon to publish those scandals, and had given him ten guineas after they were published. The next day, while I was heated with what I had heard, I wrote a letter to Mr. Addison to let him know that I was not unacquainted with this behaviour of his; that if I were to speak severely of him in return for it, it should not be in such a dirty way; that I should rather tell him fairly of his faults, and allow his good qualities; and that it should be something in the following manner. I then subjoined the first sketch of what has been called my satire on Addison. He used me very civilly ever after; and never did me any injustice that I know of from that time to his death, which was about three years after."

Pope likewise mentioned to Spence, among his hypothetical causes of complaint against Addison, that Young, on hearing that Tickell's version of the first Iliad was said to have been made at Oxford, declared that there must be some mistake, for that he was so intimate with him there, that they showed each other even the smallest things that they wrote, and that Tickell could not have been engaged in so long a work without his having heard a single word of the business. From this evidence Pope

concluded that there had been "some underhand dealing in that matter."

To refute these accusations does not appear difficult: That Addison should have "encouraged" Philips to abuse Pope is not very consistent with his former charge, that Philips set Addison against him, and any such encouragement must certainly have been entirely superfluous; more especially since Pope had now added to his first insidious attack on Philips's Pastorals, the further provocation of inciting Gay to write his Shepherd's Week as a burlesque upon them.

The charge of *hiring* Gildon,—for it amounts to this, —to cast reproaches on Pope and his parents, is one so repugnant to every thing we know or can imagine of the worthy character, and both prudent and mild disposition of Addison, that it could only be credited on the strongest and most conclusive evidence, and of what nature is that offered us? Supposing that Pope, speaking on a topic on which he was angry and prejudiced to excess, gave a perfectly exact account of conversation which had passed long years before; and supposing that his obsequious admirer Spence altered or added nothing in relating the story, lord Warwick, not yet Addison's son-in-law or domesticated with him, a youth of but seventeen, —by no means the age of accuracy or judgement, —after an unfavorable remark on the temper of

Addison, affirms that he had encouraged Gildon to publish these scandals, and had given him ten guineas after the publication. Who does not perceive, that even had the fact been so, all that a man of caution and experience could possibly have permitted this boy to know, must have been the simple facts, that he had encouraged Gildon to write a life of Wycherley, and had made him a present afterwards? What shadow of proof have we that Gildon was directed to go out of his subject to bring in these scandals, or even that Addison was aware that he had done so when he gave him the money? Supposing however that he was aware of it, what would have been thought of a patron of letters, a minister of state, of any gentleman, who should have withheld from an author in very necessitous circumstances an expected gratuity, on the ground of his book containing some abuse of another man of letters? It is also certain that if "Atticus" were written, as there is every reason to believe, on the appearance of Tickell's translation, in the middle of the year 1715, it could not have been provoked by Addison's supposed hiring of Gildon to write the life of Wycherley, for the conclusive reason that Wycherly did not die till the December of that year. Nor is there the most distant intimation of such a heinous charge in those venomous lines, which certainly contained all that the writer then knew, or imagined, or suspected

against their subject. Yet Pope has taken care to stigmatise Gildon's as a "venal quill," in one of his later satires.

With respect to Tickell, the insinuation is, that Addison induced him to begin his translation of Homer after the public announcement of Pope's, and in direct rivalry with it. Can we then believe that Addison had so little true regard for his youthful friend and protégé as to engage him in a task of such "pith and moment," under the heavy disadvantage of its having been already undertaken, and partly executed, by a poet of first rate eminence, supported by a great subscription? And this merely to gratify his own enmity? The idea is absurd. Young's negative evidence, if correctly reported, might perhaps lead us to suspect that the translation was only *commenced* at Oxford; but if so, what is that to Addison? And when Tickell had formally relinquished the *Iliad* to Pope, what occasion of further jealousy? The successful translator of Homer's first epic would certainly not want encouragement to undertake his second, if so disposed. Finally, why should Tickell *not* have entered into a fair competition with Pope or any other writer, and why should Addison be blamed, if, loving him as he did, he gave some praises to a performance of such spirit and elegance as his printed specimen?

What, on the other hand, can we say of the temper

and feelings of a man who, on vague suspicions and jealousies, on hints and hearsays put together by conjecture, on shadows of offence magnified by the mirage of vanity and self-importance, could permit himself to perpetrate such an act of vengeance, and against such a person? The commendations intermingled in the character of Atticus are very far from a palliation of its malignity. All the world spoke well of Addison, as Pope had observed, and whatever might be his sentiments, he could not venture to attack his reputation without beginning by allowing him genius, a worthy ambition, and the arts of pleasing. But of what value are these, when he imputed to him all the virulence of literary jealousy, restrained only by a base cowardice,

“Willing to wound and yet afraid to strike;”

combined with a desire of giving the law, and a contemptible craving for the gross adulation of inferiors and dependents? The act of sending the lines to him who was their subject, was an outrageous insult. They were not *published* till years after the death of Addison, and those “libels,” as Pope styled them, in which they were asserted not to have been *written* before that event, may be thought to do him less discredit than his own account of the transaction. The baseness of a revenge which disdained not to “prey upon carcasses,” is the same in either case;

and his expressly communicating, to the man he hated, the polished and pointed lines in which he had branded him with memorable, and as he hoped, indelible reproach, would only prove his intense vindictiveness. The retort of Addison is the most remarkable circumstance of the whole affair. By some it has been called an "amende honorable," and such indeed it was; honorable in the highest degree to him who had the true wisdom, the magnanimity, and it may be added, the christian spirit, to make it. Be it observed, that it was after receiving such an "amende," or rather such a confutation of his cruel charges, that Pope allowed himself to deliver down to posterity the character of Addison, such as his distorting prejudice had previously represented it.

In the 40th number of his political paper the *Freeholder*, the *jealous* Addison has gone out of his way to do justice in these terms to the merits of Pope's *Iliad*, and express his satisfaction in the support it met with: "When I consider myself as a British *Freeholder*, I am in a particular manner pleased with the labours of those who have improved our language by the translation of old Greek and Latin authors, and by that means let us into the knowledge of what passed in the famous governments of Greece and Rome. We have already most of their historians in our own tongue: And, what is still more for the honour of our language, it has

been taught to express with elegance the greatest of their poets in each nation. The illiterate among our countrymen may learn to judge from Dryden's Virgil of the most perfect epic performance. And those parts of Homer which have already been published by Mr. Pope, give us reason to think that the Iliad will appear in English with as little disadvantage to that immortal poem.

“ There is another whom I have long wished to see translated into English, as his work is fitted, and more directly tends, to raise sentiments of honour and virtue in his reader than any of the poetical writings of antiquity. I mean the Pharsalia of Lucan. This is the only author of consideration among the Latin poets who was not explained for the use of the Dauphin, for a very obvious reason ; because the whole Pharsalia would have been no less than a satire upon the French form of government. The translation of this author is now in the hands of Mr. Rowe, who has already given the world some admirable specimens of it ; and not only kept up the fire of the original, but delivered the sentiments with greater perspicuity, and in a finer turn of phrase and verse.

“ As undertakings of so difficult a nature require the greatest encouragements, one cannot but rejoice to see those general subscriptions which have been made to them ; especially since if the two works

last mentioned are not finished by those masterly hands which are now employed in them, we may despair of seeing them attempted by others."

Such are all the particulars on which we can safely rely of this lamentable quarrel, — if such a term may be employed where the gauntlet cast down by one party was not taken up by the other.* It is a melancholy example of the propensity of mankind to give the readiest welcome to detraction aimed against the eminent and the excellent, that the true character of Addison should still be sought

* I have designedly thrown out of consideration a meeting related to have been held by Pope and Addison, in presence of their respective friends Gay and Steele, to discuss their differences amicably, but ending in mutual reproaches and abuse, and a final breach. The first account of this meeting was given, thirty years afterwards, in a short life of Pope, the last survivor of the parties concerned, which appeared immediately on his death. This life purports to be written by one Ayres, of whom nothing is known, but was believed at the time to have been compiled, as well as published, by the notorious Edmund Curll. Without dwelling on other considerations which throw discredit on the narration, it will suffice to remind the reader, *that* Pope himself, in the letter to Craggs already quoted, evidently written just before the character of Atticus, expressly states that there is *no outward breach* between himself and Addison; *that* even the character was sent to him under the name of a "*friendly rebuke*;" and that by Pope's own confession, Addison treated him very civilly *ever afterwards*. This coarse and clumsy fabrication therefore, although adopted by Ruffhead in his life of Pope, and incautiously admitted by writers of superior character since, cannot possibly have had even the slightest foundation in matter of fact, since it is plain that there never was any open quarrel or dispute between these parties.

in the prejudiced representation of his avowed enemy, writing under the immediate impulse of personal offence, and himself notoriously one of the most irritable and vindictive of an irritable race, rather than in the combined testimonies of all the other contemporaries who are known to have mentioned him. Of his love of merit and constant endeavours to befriend it, many striking examples have been adduced in these pages,—it may be added, that he lived in constant friendship with Dryden, Congreve and Garth, praised Rowe as a writer, and was loved by Swift. His jealousy of kindred genius and accomplishments appears nowhere but in the lines of Pope; and while we learn from this source that he lived and ruled in a little senate of dependents, “attentive to his own applause;” the incidental notices of Swift, of Steele and others of his intimates, distinctly prove, that he passed his time partly in the first society, whether for rank and political importance, or for wit and genius, and partly in the rural and studious retirement which he loved. According to his enemy, his nature was compounded of inconsistencies worthy of laughter, and faults or vices deserving of tears; yet that very enemy confesses, that he was the theme of universal commendation, and that his society had something more charming in it than that of any other man. The inference may be safely left to the judgment of the reader.

Of wrongs, real or imaginary, treasured up in a vindictive mind, it may be truly said,

“ Time but th’ impression stronger makes,
As streams their channels deeper wear ;”

and the resentment of Pope against the perpetrator of what he regarded as a hostile though ineffective stroke aimed at his Homer, instead of fading gradually away by the natural effect of the complacency shed over the mind by success, still went on spreading wider and entering further into his heart. His discernment of style was too acute to have suffered him to imagine, in the first instance, that the translation announced as Tickell’s was in effect the production of Addison; for the versification of Tickell is not only of a totally different character from that of his illustrious friend, but in several respects superior to it. He had in particular that facility of rhyming which Hurd notes Addison to have wanted. None of his translations from Ovid can be compared, in neatness of execution, with this specimen of the Iliad. In fact, the character of Atticus, as at first printed, contained a couplet perfectly conclusive of the opinion of Pope on its authorship, which was afterwards cancelled:

“ Who when two wits on rival themes contest,
Approves of both, but likes the worst the best.”

By degrees however, his suspicions darkened, and not content with regarding his hated enemy as the

prompter and ally of his rival, he either achieved the belief, or at all events allowed himself to hazard the assertion, that he was himself that rival. After the death of Addison, a hint thrown out by Steele, in the fit of displeasure against Tickell which prompted his letter to Congreve concerning the play of the Drummer, gave a seeming warrant to this notion ; and in his treatise on the Bathos, Pope has dared to quote expressly as Addison's several lines of this translation, which he thought proper to hold up to ridicule.

The papers of the Tickell family supply conclusive evidence of the groundlessness of these malignant fancies. They prove, not only that this version of the first Iliad was Tickell's own, and so considered by his friends at the time ; but that, so far from having thrown it off as a mere specimen of his powers, or with the purpose of giving Pope a false alarm of rivalry, he had previously entered into an agreement with a bookseller for the translation of the whole poem. More than this, they contain the draught of some very sensible remarks by way of preface, designed to explain the principles of poetical translation on which the work had been executed. To believe that all these laborious preparations would have been made by any person solely for the purpose of " gratifying the inordinate desires of one man," would exceed the credulity of prejudice herself.

The literary reader will peruse with interest both

the remarks of Tickell, and two letters addressed to him on this occasion ; the first from his friend Young, the second from Dr. Lancaster master of Queen's College Oxford. All these pieces are transcribed from the Tickell papers and have never before appeared in print.

The intended preface runs as follows :

“ If in this work I have not always confined myself to a Literal Version of y^e Original, which would have been irksome to an English Reader, as well as Translator ; I have at least taken pains to reject every phrase that is not entirely Hometical, and have industriously avoided mixing y^e Elegance or Ease of Virgil and Ovid with y^e Simplicity, Majesty, and Vehemence of Homer : so that any seeming Deviation from y^e sense of y^e very words translated may be justified from Parallel Passages in y^e Iliad. There is one Particular wherein I have taken y^e liberty to differ from all y^e Translations of Homer that I have seen ; and that is in y^e Rendering of the Compound Epithets rather by a Paraphrase than by Compound Words in our own Tongue. After repeated Trials of skill to link many words in one to answer a sonorous word in y^e Original, have we not found that these Pains-takers have been translating Homer into Greek ; and what was Elegance and Musick in one Language is Harshness and Pedantry in another ? In y^e first Iliad, for example, y^e cloud-compelling Jove,

y^e Golden-throned Juno, y^e far-shooting, and silver-bow'd Apollo, y^e white-armed Juno, and Ox-eyed Juno, y^e swift-footed Achilles, y^e brazen-step'd House, y^e thunder-loving God, y^e much-snowy Olympus, y^e much-sounding shore, &c. are so many several epithets, which tho' elegant and sonorous in y^e Greek, become either un-intelligible, un-musical, or burlesque in English. And that this is wholly owing to y^e different Genius of y^e two Languages is hence apparent, because y^e same Ideas, when expressed in a manner suitable to y^e Turn of our Tongue, give y^e same pleasure to us, that y^e Ancients received in reading y^e Original. And I cannot but observe upon this head, that Virgil himself, in a Language much more capable of Composition than our's, hath often governed himself according to this Rule. As this manner of Translation is much y^e most pleasing to y^e Reader, it is y^e hardest to y^e Translator: it being no less when it is judiciously [accurately] performed, than to take an Image that lay confused, and draw it out in its fairest Light, and full Proportions: or, in a Similitude used by my Lord Bacon upon another occasion, it is to open y^e Embroidery, that is folded in y^e Pack, and to spread out every Figure in its perfect Beauty. I shall add briefly to y^e foregoing Observation, that there are several Epithets in y^e Greek Tongue which, as in other Languages, have not strictly y^e same meaning in their usual acceptation,

as from y^e Words, whence they were originally derived, they seem to bear. For example, the words which literal Translators have rendered Dogs-eyes, and Drunkard, signifie no more than Impudent and Sot. The general mistake in this point hath occasioned many indelicate Versions and ignorant Criticisms."

MR. YOUNG TO MR. TICKELL.

"To Mr. Tickell at Button's Coffee House in Covent Garden."

Dear Tickell,

London June 28.

Be assured I want no new inducement to behave myself like your friend. To be very plain, the University almost in general gives the preference to Pope's Translation; they say his is written with more Spirit, Ornament and Freedom, and has more the air of an original. I inclined some; Hanton &c, to compare the Translation with the Greek; which was done, and it made some small alteration in their opinions, but still Pope was their man. The bottom of the case is this, they were strongly prepossest in Pope's favour, from a wrong notion of your design before the Poem came down; and the sight of yours has not force enough upon them to make them willing to contradict themselves, and own they were in the wrong; but they go far for prejudiced persons, and own yours an excellent translation, nor do I hear

any violently affirm it to be worse than Pope's, but those who look on Pope as a miracle, and among those to your comfort Evans is the first, and even these zealots allow that you have outdone Pope in some particulars. *E. g.* the speech beginning

“ Oh sunk in Avarice &c
And leave a naked ” &c

Upon the whole I affirm the performance has gained you much Reputation, and when they compare you with what they should compare you, with Homer only, you are much admired. It has given I know many of the best judges a desire to see the Odyssies by the same hand, which they talk of with pleasure, and I seriously believe your first piece of that will quite break their partiality for Pope, which your Iliad has weaken'd and secure your success. Nor think my opinion groundlessly swayed by my wishes, for I observe, as Prejudice cools, you grow in favour, and you are a better Poet now than when your Homer first came down. I am persuaded fully that your design cannot but succeed here, and it shall be my hearty desire and endeavour that it may.

Dear Tickell yours most affectionately

E. YOUNG.

My humble service to Mr. Addison and Sir Rich^d.

FROM DR. LANCASTER TO MR. TICKELL.

Dear sir,

I find in our Newspapers that Lord Sunderland is preparing for his journey; and I suppose you are all busy packing up for your kingdom of Ireland, so that I am afraid you have lost your time for seeing your college, for a long season: tho' I still think his Excellency will see the end of this Session of Parliament before he moves, and not leave the great affair of Impeachments unfinished, tho' they move but slowly. So that I would willingly persuade myself we may have yet a chance of seeing you here.

I hear very little in this place of any body's Homer. Mr. Pope's does not much appear, nor show itself to any but where it is subscribed for; only Dr. Farrer of Mag. Coll. has read both, and is much pleased with your performance. We found fault with "Pluto's gloomy reign" in Pope v. 3. since Reign denotes time not place. E. g. K. Ch.'s Reign, K. George's Reign, signifie two different times not places. Pope has this Reign more than once, so that I suppose you Poets may have authority for it; and I find Nonsense gains Authority every day. I lately saw a dedication to Robert Earl of Oxford and it began "If I was" &c. instead of "If I were," which was laught at till the Report came * * * * Was is used with If before it. In our new prayers for Aug * * *

stead of "For that it hath pleased Thee," as is usual in prayers we have now got, "For that thou wast pleased" &c. I think it the first time that ever I met with "Wast" in my life unless in Quaker's Book. So *then* and *than*. I remember there was a dispute about those two words and it was referr'd to sir Roger L'Estrange, who writ a discourse about them and concluded that *Than* ought not to be admitted into the English Tongue * * *

I have many more observations of this kind, but Mr. Web is come to call for this Epistle otherwise I would have made it a finish'd learned Discourse, such as I made once to your friend the Master, in behalf of Printing upon Brown paper rather than White.*

I am, Dear Sir,

Yours

W. L.

Q. C. July 3. 1715.

* The manuscript is somewhat mutilated.

CHAPTER XII.

1713 to 1715.

PEACE OF UTRECHT ATTACKED BY WHIGS. ADDISON'S COUNT TARIFF. PAMPHLET ASCRIBED TO HIM PERHAPS WRONGFULLY. THE CRISIS. STEELE EXPELLED THE HOUSE OF COMMONS FOR IT. ASSISTED IN HIS DEFENCE BY ADDISON AND WALPOLE. BOLINBROKE ATTEMPTS TO BRING HIM OVER TO HIS PARTY, BUT FAILS. HIS TREATISE ON THE EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY. CHARACTER OF THE WORK. STEELE PUTS A STOP TO THE SPECTATOR AT THE END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME AND SETS UP THE GUARDIAN. CHARACTER OF ADDISON'S PAPERS IN IT. TERMINATION OF THE GUARDIAN. EIGHTH VOLUME OF THE SPECTATOR. CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING A NEW PERIODICAL WORK. STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS. DECLINING HEALTH OF THE QUEEN. TREACHERY OF THE MINISTERS WHO CONSPIRE TO BRING IN THE PRETENDER. EFFORTS OF THE JACOBITES. COUNTER-MEASURES OF WHIG PEERS. QUARRELS OF OXFORD AND BOLINBROKE. DEATH OF THE QUEEN. VIGOROUS MEASURES OF THE COUNCIL. GEORGE I. PROCLAIMED. LORDS JUSTICES APPOINTED. ADDISON CHOSEN THEIR SECRETARY. FOOLISH TALE CONCERNING HIM. LETTER TO M. DE ROBETHON. HIS MEMORIAL TO THE KING. LORD SUNDERLAND LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND APPOINTS HIM CHIEF SECRETARY. HE REFUSES TO GIVE UP THE ACQUAINTANCE OF SWIFT. CORRESPONDENCE OF ARCHBISHOP KING. LETTERS OF MAJOR DUNBAR. REMARKS. ANECDOTE. AUTHORSHIP OF THE DRUMMER.

WE now return from this unwelcome digression to trace the main stream of the life of Addison, which at this time flowed with a somewhat hurried course.

The peace of Utrecht, the signature of which the Queen announced on the meeting of parliament in April 1713, roused the indignant zeal of all lovers of the honor and the interests of their country. The ministers were loudly denounced as adherents and pensioners of France; and the storm of pamphlets with which they were assailed urged them to prompt her majesty to demand of her faithful commons stronger laws for the repression of libels.

No portion of the treaty was exposed to stronger animadversion than the articles concerning commerce, in which it was obvious that British interests had been shamefully sacrificed through the inadvertence or corruption of the negotiators. In this part of the quarrel Addison engaged with weapons peculiarly his own. Even now that the subject itself has lost all its interest, his allegory of the lawsuit between Count Tariff and Goodman Fact, may be read with pleasure for its ingenuity, its humour, and the happy colloquialisms of the style.

By way of feeling the pulse of the English people, the agents or favorers of the French king now published, and circulated widely, an Address to the Queen from the magistrates of Dunkirk; modestly petitioning her to dispense with the execution of an article by which Louis had bound himself to secure England for the future against the annoyance of that nest of pirates, by the demolition of its harbour and

fortifications. Instantly a whole troop of answerers was in the field; among whom are enumerated, Steele, Manwaring and Addison. In Tickell's edition however, no piece of Addison's on this subject appears, nor is any such alluded to in his prefatory memoir; therefore the truth of this matter is somewhat uncertain. More doubt was thought to hang over the authorship of a pamphlet of greater notoriety, but small literary merit, entitled the Crisis, and designed to alarm the nation with apprehensions of arbitrary power and a popish successor. Steele avowed it and received subscriptions for it, and certainly suffered for it; yet before the publication of Steele's Correspondence, which plainly fixes it upon him, it was commonly supposed to be the work of a whig junto of whom Addison is named as one; with regard to him however, the suspicion was not only untrue but absurd; and we have proof that he strongly disapproved a vehemence so contrary to his own habits and disposition. The piece was censured in Parliament, together with some passages in two numbers of the Englishman,—a political paper allowed on all hands to be Steele's,—as a scandalous and seditious libel; and a motion was made for his expulsion from the house, he being at this time member for Stockbridge. He obtained permission though with difficulty, to speak first in his own defence. Hereupon, “ Mr. Walpole, Mr. Pultney,

and Mr. Addison were commissioned to go to him from the Kitcat club, with their positive order and determination that Steele should not make his own speech, but that Addison should make it for him, and he should read it from the other's writing without any insertion or addition of his own. Addison thought this a hard injunction, and said he must be like a schoolboy, and desire the gentleman to give him a little sense. Walpole said that it was impossible to speak a speech in cold blood; but being pressed, said he would try; and immediately spoke a very good speech of what he thought proper for Steele to say on the occasion, and the next day in the house made another speech as good or better on the same subject, but so totally different from the former, that there was scarce a single thought or argument the same." *

It is not improbable, after all, that the speech made by Steele was in fact supplied to him by Addison, since he is said to have "entered on his defence with a temper, modesty and eloquence quite unusual to him." † He continued speaking three hours; but was unable to avert the vote of expulsion which was carried against him.

While Addison chid, without being able to moderate the headlong zeal of his old associate, and

* Life of bishop Newton by himself in Coxe's Walpole, i, 45,

† Ibid. i, 43.

lamented in vain the ruin in which it was contributing to involve him, his own moderation, which was in reality the result of good sense, not indifference, inspired one of the opposite leaders with hopes of his conversion. The value of such an accession to a party now shaken at once by assaults from without and dissensions within, justified a decided effort; and Bolinbroke, to whom he was previously no stranger, asked of him a confidential interview. They conversed freely together for two hours, but parted with the full knowledge that "they differed *toto cælo* in politics." Addison, indeed, had long since penetrated into the true character of this accomplished man, but ambitious, resentful and totally unprincipled politician. Spence relates from Pope, that on Parnell's having been introduced into lord Bolinbroke's company, and speaking afterwards of the great pleasure he had in his conversation, Mr. Addison "came out with his usual expression, 'If he had but as good a heart as he has a head,'" and applied to him that "cankered Bolinbroke" from Shakspeare.

In the midst of these busy scenes Addison, by meritorious diligence, found means to rescue from the service of party a portion of that precious time on which he felt that there were higher claims. It was in this year that he began that treatise on the Evidences of Christianity which was left a fragment

of small extent at his death. How much of time and labor he actually gave to this object we have not the means of knowing, nor whether it was a design which with longer life he would have carried to completion, or one that he had laid aside. His real modesty and the general soundness of his judgment considered, it is highly probable that he must soon have abandoned it, on coming to a perception that to do justice to such a subject would demand wider research, other and deeper learning, and a mind more formed to the strictness of logical deduction, than were at present his; or were, perhaps, within his powers of acquisition. In any case, it is certain that of this effort of his pen, highly as it was commended at the time of its first appearance, — as any contribution of such a man to such a cause was sure of being, — the intrinsic value is very small. Prodigious advances, it should in candor be recollected, have since been made in all the branches of erudition and knowledge applicable to the study and illustration of this important topic. Thanks to the learned labors of Lardner and others, much less than the abilities and accomplishments of an Addison, would now suffice for the preparation of a popular summary of the Historical Evidences of Christianity incomparably superior to his in correctness and cogency.

In December 1712, Steele, at the conclusion of the seventh volume of the Spectator, took leave of

the world in this character ; and in the month of March following reappeared in that of the Guardian. We now know that both these steps were taken by him for reasons of his own, and without the concurrence, or even the knowledge, of Addison. Accordingly, the first volume of the Guardian is not enriched with any contributions of his ; to the second he gave about fifty numbers. Of those rarest of intellectual products, when exquisite in their kind, wit and humour, these papers have a smaller proportion than those of their author in the Tatler and Spectator ;—of grave moralising they have more. Little or nothing of literary criticism is found in them, but an agreeable variety is made by the introduction of some letters, which we now know to have been real ones written to friends while the author was on his travels, and there are fancy-pieces which rank with his very best. But the frame of the work was a dull one ; it suggested no fresh topics, afforded no happy hints ; even the genius of Addison began perhaps to feel that its brightest inspirations had been uttered, and his papers have somewhat less of animation than before. The work however was acceptable ; it had able contributors, and it seems to have been a disappointment both to them and to the public, when Steele, having carried it on through no more than two volumes, suddenly dropped it, in October 1713, to give himself up entirely to po-

litics and his new party-paper the Englishman. Apparently, a considerable quantity of unused material was still left in the hands of Addison and other contributors; and after some time they agreed to give the public the benefit of it by resuscitating the defunct Spectator, of which an eighth volume appeared between the months of June and December 1714, in which Steele had no concern. Even in the brief interval between the termination of the Guardian and this revival, he whose genius had been the animating soul of both, was plied with earnest solicitations to extend his aid to other undertakings founded on the same general plan; as is testified by the correspondence which follows.

MR. HUGHES TO MR. ADDISON.

Dear sir

October 6. 1713.

I do not doubt but you know by this time that Mr. Steele has abruptly dropped the Guardian. He has published this day a paper called the Englishman which begins with an answer to the Examiner, written with great boldness and spirit, and shows that his thoughts are at present entirely on politics. Some of his friends are in pain about him, and are concerned that a paper should be discontinued which might have been generally entertaining without engaging in party matters.

I know not whether any such paper as the Guardian may hereafter be attempted by other hands. I remember you were once pleased to ask me what would be a good plan ; and this unexpected occasion has given me a thought, which I beg to offer to your consideration : and because I cannot, at this distance, so well explain it to you in the compass of a letter, I inclose a slight sketch I have just begun of it today. I wish I could tempt you by any slight thought of mine, to take something of this kind into consideration : I should, on such condition, be willing to furnish one paper in a week, on this, or any plan you shall think more proper, but without you I shall make no further use of it.

I shall only add, that it is my opinion, and I believe that of most others, that such a paper should be only three times a week : when it should begin, or whether at all or no, I submit to you. &c.

MR. ADDISON TO MR. HUGHES.

Dear sir

Bilton Oct. 12. 1713.

I am very much obliged to you for your kind letter and the specimen, which I read over with great pleasure.—I think the title of the *Register* would be less assuming than that of the *Humanity-Club* ; but to tell you truly, I have been so taken up with thoughts of that nature for these two or three years last past,

that I must now take some time *pour me délasser*, and lay in fuel for a future work. In the meantime I should be glad if you would set such a project on foot, for I know nobody else capable of succeeding in it, and turning it to the good of mankind, since my friend has laid it down. I am in a thousand troubles for poor Dick, and wish that his zeal for the public may not be ruinous to himself; but he has sent me word that he is determined to go on, and that any advice I may give him in this particular, will have no weight with him.

I beg you will present my most sincere respects to sir Richard Blackmore, and that you will add my sister's, who is now with me, and very much his humble servant. I wish I could see him and yourself in these parts, where I think of staying a month or two longer.

I am always with the greatest truth
and esteem &c.

MR. HUGHES TO MR. ADDISON.

Dear sir

Dec^r. 5. 1713.

I designed long ago to have acknowledged the favor of your kind letter, and at the same time to have acquainted you that I had laid aside all thoughts of the design mentioned to you in my last. I had indeed been prompted to it by our very worthy friend sir Richard Blackmore, who is apt to think, as you do, much too partially of my poor abilities. But

when I perceived you were tired with an entertainment you had so long given the town, with much better success than I could ever propose, I could not persuade myself to engage as a principal in an undertaking in which I was only willing to have been an assistant. Sir Richard was however of opinion, that such a design ought not to be dropped, and therefore determined to make the experiment, which he believed might turn to the public good: and by his commission I send you the papers which have been hitherto published. You may believe when this design was once set on foot, I could not be wholly unconcerned; I must therefore desire your indulgence to the third, sixth and ninth papers; and the rest I am sure will entertain you very well, &c.

This paper, under the title of the Lay Monastery, dragged on an obscure existence to the fortieth number, when the neglect of the world convinced the worthy knight and his respectable associate, that it was not given to them to bend the bow of Ulysses.

Addison himself, after the completion of the additional volume of the Spectator, rested from any similar exercise of his powers, till the cause of his king and country roused him to the composition of his Freeholder. Meanwhile, the distracted state of public affairs, — the coming crisis, — and the perils which seemed to threaten the leaders and the prin-

ciples to which he had evinced in all fortunes an unwavering attachment, offered abundant occupation for his anxious thoughts.

It had for some time been manifest to all who approached the court, that the constitution of the Queen was broken, and the termination of her life approaching. Whether on this event the act of succession would be sustained, and the protestant heir allowed to seat himself peaceably on her throne, was the momentous question which forced itself on every thinking mind, and the answer to which many circumstances appeared to render doubtful. The noisy and numerous high church party by which the cause of Sacheverel had been so factiously avowed, seemed pledged, in all consistency, to the divine, indefeasible right of the lineal heir. The Queen herself was believed to favor underhand the cause of her brother; and her tory ministry unanimous in nothing else, was so at least in omitting no occasion of casting obloquy and reproach on revolution-principles, enforced by the expulsion of those who professed them from all offices civil and military. It was then strongly suspected, and now stands on proof, that the same statesmen who in the treaty of Utrecht had betrayed the interests of their country to France, had also embarked in a secret plot to surrender up her liberties civil and religious to a popish successor. As a kind of earnest of their intentions, they had

quashed many prosecutions against Scotch jacobites, suffered a number of outlawed partisans to return, and connived at the arrival of many Romish priests and jesuits. Encouraged by these tokens of favor, the friends of the Stuarts, both in England and Scotland, had begun to throw off all disguise; the Pretender's birthday was openly celebrated in many places, and even levies of men were made expressly for his service.

On the other hand, these indications of danger were carefully watched by the leaders of the whigs, and promptly met by measures of counteraction well fitted to rouse the spirit of a free and protestant people. Addison's chief patrons, Halifax, Wharton and Sunderland, supported by Somers, — though now, from increasing infirmity, little more than the shadow of a great name, — here particularly distinguished themselves. They brought forward and carried in the house of peers, which was their stronghold, vigorous resolutions against the adherents of the Pretender, and especially against their audacious enlistments. They brought in, and carried by a majority of one, a bill making all active measures against the protestant succession high treason. They opened a correspondence with the duke of Marlborough, who had retired to the continent on his disgrace, and maintained a close connection with the Hanoverian minister in London. Their influence

extended also to the house of commons, in which, notwithstanding the strong tory influences under which it had been chosen, the ministers were compelled to yield on some trying questions, and carried others with difficulty, by small and diminishing majorities. In this perplexity the lord treasurer, Oxford, made some attempts towards conciliating the whigs, while the secretary, Bolinbroke, treated them with open defiance. Violent quarrels broke out between these rival statesmen, in spite of the earnest mediation of Swift, who saw in their dissensions the inevitable ruin of the party. As usual in civil contentions, treachery and tergiversation were prevalent on all sides; and so many discoveries were daily made of promises of adherence secretly pledged by men of rank and consequence to *both* competitors for the succession, that neither could judge on what persons or on what numbers, he might safely calculate in the day of trial. This uncertainty however was not fitted to tell equally against both parties. In supporting a king *de facto*, reigning by the authority of the legislature, men knew that they were safe in all events; while nothing less than a moral certainty of success could redeem from the imputation of the last degree of rashness, an early appearance in the treasonable cause of a proscribed and disinherited exile.

At length the impetuous Bolinbroke gained the object nearest to his heart. He succeeded in com-

elling the Queen to demand back from his hated colleague, Oxford, the treasurer's staff. But he had reason to repent his "granted prayer." The furious altercation which these chosen servants of the crown had been withheld neither by respect to royal dignity, by the feelings of gentlemen, nor by common humanity, from carrying on in the presence of their almost dying sovereign, had shaken too rudely the "outhasting sands." "I shall never recover it!" faintly uttered the Queen, as she was carried out from the council-chamber; and taking to her bed she sunk into a lethargy which proved fatal on the fourth day, being the first of August.

This precipitation of the final stroke was fatal to all the hopes of the Jacobites. None of their preparations were completed; no nucleus of rebellion was formed, and they lacked means for counteracting the wise and vigorous measures of precaution taken by a full council. Immediately on the event this body assembled, the proclamation of George I. was ordered, and passed without a murmur. Lords Justices were appointed in conformity with a list which lay ready signed by the absent prince; and their first act on assembling was to name Addison their secretary. Bolinbroke meanwhile, who had repaired to the council with his bag and papers, was kept standing at the door, suffering the severest mor-

tifications. Soon after, he was deprived of the seals and his papers secured.

It is probable that the urgency of public affairs must have summoned Addison from his favorite country retirement shortly after the date of his letter to Hughes above cited. Some of his political pieces seem to have been written about this time, and he was doubtless admitted to many close consultations of the whigs; besides attending regularly as a member of the Kitcat club, the mandates of which body we have seen him bearing to Steele, in reference to his defence. In the session of parliament which commenced in February, he was a steady and constant, though silent supporter of the constitutional cause. It was at the suggestion of Lord Halifax, who long had known his public virtue, that the lords justices, of whom this celebrated statesman was one, named him their secretary; and a stronger testimony of esteem and reliance could not well have been given, the time and all the circumstances considered. We have good evidence that he was found in all respects equal to his trust, yet a foolish tale has gained currency on this occasion which is to the following effect: That being required, as the duty of his office, to indite a letter to the court of Hanover announcing the demise of the Queen, he was so overpowered by his sense of the importance of the event as to be unable to find words in which to convey it; and that

a clerk in the office was called in to supply his deficiency, who wrote it with ease in the common official forms, and thence took occasion to boast ever after that he had performed what was too hard for Addison. It will surely be allowed, that considering the habits of business which this distinguished person must have acquired in the posts of under secretary of state, and principal secretary for Ireland, considering too the peculiarly confidential relations in which he had long stood to this very court of Hanover, — and taking also into account his eminent good sense and excellent taste, which must have forbidden any attempt at a display of fine writing on so unsuitable an occasion, — such a fit of nervous incapacity is totally incredible. We know moreover that the Earl of Dorset was expressly appointed by the council to carry the intelligence of his accession to the new sovereign; and it may well be true, that a clerk was directed to prepare in the common form a credential letter to be delivered by his lordship; not because the secretary was incapable of performing such a task, but because affairs of a far more delicate and confidential nature required his attention.

This appointment, however honorable, was in its nature but provisional. It was terminated, together with the functions of the lords justices themselves, by the arrival of King George in his capital on the 17th of September.

In his "Memorial to the King," Addison gives the following summary of his official labors,—and of their emoluments.

"That upon y^e Queen's demise, without any previous solicitation, your Memst was, in that critical conjuncture, appointed Sec^y. to y^e Regency — That during this very troublesome office, he was ordered by y^e then L^{ds} Regent to draw up a preamble to y^e Prince of Wales's Patent, for which there was no gratuity allotted him.

"That he received no Fee, Salary, Reward or Perquisite whatsoever for this his service to y^e Regency, notwithstanding he was at considerable charge in keeping clerks and other expenses that accompanied his attendance in that Office, and notwithstanding y^e incredible Fatigue of the Office very much impaired his health, and w^d have endangered his Life, had he continued much longer in it.

"That y^e Lords of y^e Regency, upon y^e determining this Office, declared unanimously that they were highly satisfied with the Diligence and Fidelity of their Sec^y. and that upon their first attendance upon Your Majesty, they would with one voice recommend him to your Royal Favor, for a Mark of your Majesty's Bounty."

Two letters addressed officially by Addison to the Hanoverian secretary of state, here claim admission as no unfavorable specimens of his business style.

MR. ADDISON TO MONS. DE ROBETHON.

Sir,

St. James's, Sept. 4, 1714.

I have been obliged to so close an attendance on the lords justices, and have had so very little time at my own disposal, during my absence from their Excellencies, that I could not do myself the honour, before now, to assure you of my respects, and to beg the continuance of that friendship which you formerly honoured me with at Hanover. I cannot but extremely rejoice at the occasion which will give me an opportunity of waiting on you in England, where you will find a whole nation in the highest joy, and thoroughly sensible of the great blessings which they promise themselves from his Majesty's accession to the throne. I take the liberty to send you, inclosed, a poem written on this occasion, by one of our most eminent hands, which is indeed a master-piece in its kind; and though very short, has touched upon all the topics that are most popular among us. I have likewise transmitted to you a copy of the preamble to the prince of Wales's patent, which was a very grateful task imposed on me by the lords justices. Their Excellencies have ordered that the lords and others who meet his Majesty be out of mourning that day, as also their coaches, but all servants, except those of the city magistrates, to be in mourning. The shortness of the time, which would not be suffi-

cient for the making of new liveries, occasioned this last order. The removal of the lord Bolingbroke has put a seasonable check to an interest that was making in many places for members in the next parliament, and was very much relished by the people, who ascribed to him in a great measure the decay of trade and public credit. You will do me a very great honour, if you can find terms submissive enough to make the humble offer of my duty acceptable to his Majesty. May God Almighty preserve his person, and continue him for many years the blessing of these kingdoms !

I am, with great esteem and respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

J. ADDISON.

[From "Original Papers; etc. published by James Macpherson, Esq." London, 1775. 4to. Vol. 2. p. 652.]

The poem referred to, was in all probability a production of one whom Addison let slip no opportunity to praise and serve. Tickell's Royal Progress is commended too in the last volume of the Spectator, and may fairly claim, by the justness of the thoughts and the graceful and poetical turn of the expression, a high place among occasional poems. It could have contributed little, however, to the pleasure or enter-

tainment either of the German King or probably of his French secretary.

MR. ADDISON TO MONS. DE ROBETHON.

Sir,

St. James's, Sept. 11, 1714.

Though I am not without hopes of seeing you in England, before this letter comes to your hands, I cannot defer returning you my thanks for the honour of yours of the 17th, N. S. which I received this morning. I beg leave to send you the enclosed ceremonial for the King's entry, published by the earl of Suffolk, deputy earl Mareshal, and regulated by the lords justices and privy council. The attorney general is preparing a proclamation, reciting the rewards set on the pretender by the late Queen and parliament, with the security for the payment, as established by a clause of an act passed since his Majesty's accession to the throne. As such a proclamation is very requisite, so, perhaps, it may come with a good grace from the regents, before his Majesty's arrival. It will, I believe, be fixed up in all the market towns, especially among the Highlands in Scotland, where there have been some meetings; but, by the care of the regents, of no consequence.

I am, with great esteem and respect,

Sir,

Your most obedient, and most humble servant,

J. ADDISON.

This letter will be delivered to you by Mr. Greenwood, who will acquaint you how highly sensible I am of the honour of your friendship.

[From "Original Papers; etc. by James Macpherson, Esq." London, 1775. 4to. Vol. 2. p. 653.—*Literatim.*]

Among the earliest appointments made by the King on his arrival, was that of the earl of Sunderland to succeed the duke of Shrewsbury as lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The earl, anxious again to avail himself of the services of his former second in the secretary of state's office, immediately offered to Addison the post of his chief secretary. In his present circumstances, the employment was probably a welcome resource, and he quickly prepared to revisit the sister island in this important capacity. But here also he was fated to incur pecuniary disappointment, thus stated in his "Memorial." "That the Memorialist's profits as Sec^y. under my L^d. Sunderland have fallen very much short of what might have been expected from that Office, and (contrary to y^e Profits of all other y^e like Offices in this first happy year of your Majesty's reign) have amounted to no more than they usually are in any common year, by reason of his Lordship's absence from that kingdom, and his not being qualified to give out military commissions."

The earl of Sunderland during the whole time

that he held the vice regal dignity, — that is from October 1714 to the August following, — remained in England; dissatisfied with the appointment assigned him, and unwilling to quit the center of political motion. It is clear also from the correspondence addressed to his secretary during the same time, that he too was partly resident in London during this period. Yet that he visited Ireland, appears from the circumstance, mentioned in the life of Tickell; that Addison *took* him over to Dublin this year to initiate him in public business. It is likewise proved by a striking anecdote.

Swift, it will be recollected, had early attached himself to the tory ministry of the four last years of queen Anne, which he had served by a pen unrivalled indeed in vigor, but also in acrimony; and skilled in the worst arts of party pamphleteering. That he had rendered himself signally obnoxious to all the whig leaders, followed as a necessary consequence. Whether he had given any peculiar ground of offence to lord Sunderland does not appear; but we are told that the lord lieutenant, before his secretary's departure for Ireland, endeavoured to exact from him a promise that he would not see the dean of St. Patrick's. Addison however, with a spirit that did him honor, absolutely refused to suffer his independence of action to be thus encroached upon, or to give up an intercourse which he valued.

The incident is the more remarkable, because we cannot doubt that Swift's inveteracy against Steele must have greatly offended his friend; and it is almost impossible that any connection could have been kept up between them for a considerable time before Swift had last broken away from London, on finding the dissensions between Oxford and Bolingbroke irreconcilable. But the fierce contest was at an end; the protestant succession had prevailed without even a murmur; the tories were laid low; and Swift had hurried from the scene to bury in an almost savage solitude the pangs of vain regrets and disappointed hopes. The generous and gentle nature of Addison, incapable of long resentments, felt for the tortures of a proud and ambitious spirit cast back into obscurity, — of a bright wit separated for ever from the congenial group of statesmen, poets, brother wits in which he had shone, or almost reigned, without an equal, — he felt for the man with whom he had long exchanged the sacred name of friend, — and he would not abandon him. Some time before the termination of lord Sunderland's Irish administration, a person having been arrested with treasonable correspondence upon him, a part of which was addressed to Swift, the Dean had judged it prudent to conceal himself awhile: a circumstance which must have cut off all intercourse between him and the inmate of the Castle; yet there is reason to

believe that they had some social meetings during the term of Addison's secretaryship, and the correspondence hereafter to be produced affords convincing proof that their friendship endured as long as his life.

Dr. King archbishop of Dublin, to whom he had taken an introduction from Swift on his first official visit to Ireland, was at this time a frequent correspondent of Addison's; and from his letters, never before published, a few extracts will here be read with interest. This eminent prelate and very worthy man, now descending into the vale of years, had distinguished himself in various characters: As a churchman he was known first by the zeal and courage with which he had braved imprisonment, and much personal danger, in defending the protestant cause against the arbitrary measures of James II. in Ireland, and since, by his strenuous though unsuccessful efforts for the conversion of the presbyterians of that country to the episcopalian discipline: — As a politician, he had shown himself the able and steady supporter of whig principles; and he had established, both at home and abroad, the reputation of a deep scholar and able metaphysician, by an elaborate work on the Origin of Evil, which had engaged him in an animated controversy with Bayle. His favorable testimony to the public merits of the marquis of Wharton is a remarkable one, and

perhaps the most honorable that he has received ; — for this prelate was constantly active in the affairs of his country, and had the reputation of understanding them well.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN TO MR. ADDISON.

Sir,

Dublin April 23. 1715.

I had the favor of yours of the 12th inst. and the same packet brought us the account of my lord Wharton's death ; of whom I will say no more than that he has made a figure in the world to my remembrance about forty years, and always appeared in his country's interest, and so acted as became a true patriot, and I very much fear he will be missed at this juncture.

I am heartily sorry for my Lord Lieutenant's indisposition ; the Tories have represented him as past hopes of recovery, the Archbishop of Canterbury as dead, and Duke of Marlborough to be in a very declining condition, — they reckon that if they can rid themselves of the heads of the Court party, they may have some chance to succeed in their places.

You'll give me leave to smile at your apology for writing in a hurry ; I take it in very good part, who need so much for my slovenly way of writing, tho' I should be glad that were the worst fault in my

letters ; pray take the honest meaning of them, and I promise you that I will never criticise any thing in yours.

“ Hanc veniam dabimus petimusque vicissim.”

THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN TO MR. ADDISON,

Dublin July 30. 1715.

I chide Mr. Budgell for not sending you the money for secret service. I do not wonder at the temptations you meet with. I believe few are proof against them, but your virtue that way is so well known, that I am confident as it turns to your honor now, it will one day repay you with double profit. I assure you I hope to see it, and it will be of infinite satisfaction to me.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN TO MR. ADDISON.

Sir,

Dublin Aug. 25. 1715.

I have very much revolved in my mind the hints you were so kind as to give me concerning settling the government here, and still I find all persons averse to Commissioners, and mighty desirous to have a Lord Lieutenant. We are not altogether out of hopes that his Excellency my lord Sunderland may yet be able to do us the favor, but if that can't be, I am of opinion my lord Pembroke may be a proper and acceptable person ; he was very well liked

by the Kingdom when he was here, governed it without noise or faction, insomuch that he did every thing without struggle or opposition ; he was diligent and assiduous in his business, acted steadily, and by regular methods, which gave great content. I believe he is hearty in his Majesty's interest, and seemed to have the good of the people at heart. If it should please his Majesty to send him, I think it would be grateful to the Kingdom, I hope for your own interest, and would wonderfully please.

I am, sir &c.

On the appointment of the duke of Grafton to the government of Ireland, assisted by lord Galway, the Archbishop expresses himself to his correspondent thus.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN TO MR. ADDISON.

Sir

Dublin Aug. 30. 1715.

I was favored with yours of the 20th inst. The news in it I find is come to many hands in town, and I do not find that it pleased any. I wish it may succeed to the serving his Majesty's interest and the good of the Kingdom. I confess I am not without apprehensions that it may occasion some difficulties. I pray and hope I may be mistaken.

There is, amongst other circumstances, one, I assure you, very grievous to every body, and 'tis

that we shall not have your assistance here. Believe me this is a real truth and no compliment. I should be unjust if I forgot the acknowledgements due to you for your care and zeal in all the affairs relating to this Kingdom, particularly your regard to me.

This Kingdom is very unfortunate in its frequent change of Governors, for before we are well acquainted with one, he is removed, and every body obliged to begin his business anew, and make a new interest. I rarely have had any in our chief Governors, and after so great a disappointment as I have met with in his Excellency's declining this post, I fancy I shall not be very fond of any successor's favor. You'll excuse me that condoling my own circumstances I may say 'tis the Kingdom's case as well as mine, and you'll allow me to be a little chagrined on so extraordinary an occasion.

But whatever happen, you'll believe me with all sincerity &c*

Letters like these, which express with such an artless sincerity the esteem and confidence of a character like archbishop King, must have been felt by Addison as testimonials equally honorable to him in his official and his private capacity, and were doubtless preserved by him on this account. Of the

* From the originals in the possession of Mr. Tickell.

known integrity ascribed to him in general terms by the prelate, a concurrent and more pointed evidence appears to exist in two letters by another hand, now to be produced. How they were obtained for publication is not mentioned; they were first printed in some compilation of Curll's, and are stated to have been written by Addison after refusing first a bank bill of 300*l.*, and afterwards a diamond ring of the like value, offered by a Major Dunbar for his good offices with the lord lieutenant in some suit the nature of which does not appear.

MR. ADDISON TO MAJOR DUNBAR.

Sir,

Jan. 26. 1715.

I find there is a very strong opposition formed against you; but I shall wait on my lord Lieutenant this morning, and lay your case before him as advantageously as I can, if he is not engaged in other company. I am afraid what you say of his Grace does not portend you any good.

And now sir, believe me when I assure you that I never did, nor ever will, on any pretence whatsoever, take more than the stated and customary fees of my office. I might keep the contrary practice concealed from the world, were I capable of it, but I could not from myself; and I hope I shall always fear the reproaches of my own heart more

than those of all mankind. In the meantime, if I can serve a gentleman of merit, and such a character as you bear in the world, the satisfaction I meet with on such an occasion is always a sufficient, and the only reward to

sir &c.

MR. ADDISON TO MAJOR DUNBAR.

Sir,

1715.

I this morning urged to my lord Lieutenant every thing which you suggest in your letter, and what else came into my thoughts. He told me it stopped with the secretary, and that he would still see what could be done in it. I spoke to sir William Saint Quintin to remove all difficulties with the secretary, and will again plead your cause with the secretary tomorrow morning. If you send me word where I may wait on you about eleven o'clock in some bye coffee house, I will inform you of the result of this matter, if I find my lord Sunderland at home, and will convince you that I was in earnest when I wrote to you before, by showing myself

Your most disinterested

Humble servant.

Of the genuineness of these letters the reader will form his own opinion; but some difficulties which

appear on a careful perusal, ought in fairness to be stated. The dating of the first is suspicious: Addison would have written January 1714-5 according to the invariable practice of his time. The active exertions promised in behalf of a person,—a stranger apparently,—from whom he had just refused a bribe, and still more the offer of meeting him at a *bye* coffee house, are great inconsistencies.

The promise to *call* on the lord lieutenant and mention the business if he should not be engaged in other company, or should be at home, are not suited to the character of a secretary, who must necessarily have done business with his principal at stated hours. Above all, it is impossible to conceive by what “secretary” the business could be obstructed, since Addison himself was the principal secretary for Ireland, and any business in which he had refused to take more than his *regular* fees must of course have been in his department.

It may be added, that there is an awkwardness in the style of the letters never found in any authenticated writing of Addison’s whatever might be its nature.

His biographer may afford to part with any dubious evidence in favour of integrity which has never been called in question.

A more palpable fiction of the same kind, which may here be mentioned, is a letter to a lady, pub-

lished in Rede's Anecdotes. It purports to have been written by Addison, and addressed to a lady who while single had rejected his honorable proposals, but after marriage, repenting of her cruelty to a suitor who had since rendered his name so celebrated, had written to offer him a private meeting. He is made to decline the favor, or repel the temptation, in a long argumentative discourse which might have been indited by Richardson in the character of sir Charles Grandison, the pedagogue of morality. We are not informed whether it was the gentleman or the lady by whom this precious composition was given to the world, and it would be difficult to say which of them the act would most misbecome. It is, after all, no slight indication of the weight attached to a name in general estimation, to find it employed as the instrument of edifying frauds.

Less glorious doubtless than these imputed instances of self-command, but more worthy of record, as a characteristic trait of no doubtful authority, is a particular which was related by Swift: That Addison made it a rule never to remit in favor of his friends the regular fees of his office; for, said he, my dues are perhaps two guineas, and I may have thirty friends; thus I shall lose sixty guineas, and each of them will save no more than two.

A strictness of this kind, it may be safely maintained, has in it nothing incompatible with true

generosity on proper occasions, and it is likely to be connected with that spirit of order and prudent economy than which there is no surer safeguard of integrity in places of public trust.

This busy period of the life of Addison was likewise the date of the appearance of a drama, Addison's claims to which are still a matter of some uncertainty. Early in the season, a comedy called the Drummer was produced at Drury Lane theatre, of which Steele had recently become patentee. It was coldly received, although it is said to have been "exquisitely acted;" but Steele, believing it, from the delicacy of its strokes of humour, better fitted for the closet than the stage, published it soon after with a laudatory preface. No hint of the author was given to the public, but Tonson paid what was thought the high price of 50 guineas for the copy-right, under the impression that it was by Addison, after whose death Steele appears to have made him a direct assertion to that effect. When therefore this comedy was found to be omitted in Tickell's posthumous edition of Addison's works, Tonson complained of having been imposed upon by Steele, who made his defence in that letter to Congreve, already cited, which he printed as an introduction to a second edition of the Drummer. In this piece, after making the general assertion that "no one who reads the preface which I published with it will imagine I could be induced

to say so much as I then did, had I not known the man I best loved had had a part in it, or had I believed that any other concerned had much more to do with it than as an amanuensis,"—he proceeds to defend this judgment on the ground of internal evidence, affirming that had he known nothing of the circumstances, he should have seen the humour of his friend in every page of it. Then, after digressing to some ill-founded censures of Tickell's account of the author's delays in the completion of *Cato*, he thus proceeds : " If I remember right, the fifth act was written in less than a week's time ; for this was particular in this writer, that when he had taken his resolution, or made his plan for what he designed to write, he would walk about the room, and dictate it into language with as much freedom and ease as any one could write it down, and attend to the coherence and grammar of what he dictated. I have been often thus employed by him ; and never took it into my head, though he only spoke it, and I took all the pains of throwing it upon paper, that I ought to call myself the writer of it. I will put all my credit among men of wit for the truth of my averment when I presume to say, that no one but Mr. Addison was in any other way the writer of the *Drummer* ; at the same time I will allow that he sent for me, which he could always do, from his natural power over me, as much as he could for any of his clerks when he was

Secretary of State; and told me, ‘that a gentleman then in the room had written a play, that he was sure I would like; but it was to be a secret; and he knew I would take as much pains, since he recommended it, as I would for him.’” This, it will be observed, is no very cogent assertion of Addison’s claim to the piece; but we have in corroboration both the plot, which has a striking point of resemblance with that of *Rosamond*,—there being in each a husband who visits his wife when she believes herself his widow,—and the style, in the humorous scenes, which bears strong marks of Addison. What is still more conclusive, Theobald has recorded, that he himself told him, that he had taken the character of Vellum from the steward in Fletcher’s *Scornful Lady*,—to which the similarity is very conspicuous. It might indeed be a joint work; but the total silence of Tickell on the subject during his life, and the fact that no hint to this effect exists among his papers, or in the traditions of his descendants, seems to award the authorship to Addison solely.

That the play contains amusing scenes will not be disputed; but on the whole it is neither highly entertaining nor is it well constructed, the plot being in its nature too farcical to accord with the sentimental interest attempted to be thrown around the principal characters. Tinsel too is a caricature more disgusting than comic. The genius of comedy is neither

wit, nor humour, nor knowledge of character and manners, nor the power of representing them, but something additional to all these and distinct from them ;—something which neither Addison, nor in general, the ablest novel-writers have possessed ; and whether it was by his own direction, as is most probable, or by the authority of his executor only, that the Drummer was excluded from his works, it was done in the exercise of a sounder discretion than Steele's republication of the unsuccessful piece.

CHAPTER XIII.

1716 to 1718.

ADDISON'S IRISH SECRETARYSHIP ENDED. REBELLION OF 1715. ADDISON EMPLOYED TO WRITE THE FREEHOLDER. ACCOUNT OF THE WORK. REWARDED WITH COMMISSIONERSHIP OF TRADE AND COLONIES. MARRIES THE COUNTESS DOWAGER OF WARWICK. ACCOUNTS OF HIS COURTSHIP. REASONS FOR DOUBTING THEM. WELSTEAD'S LINES TO LADY WARWICK. ADDISON'S LINES TO KNELLER. HALIFAX WITHOUT POWER TO ADVANCE HIM. DEATH OF HALIFAX. LORD SUNDERLAND SECRETARY OF STATE APPOINTS ADDISON JOINT SECRETARY. HIS QUALIFICATIONS FOR BUSINESS. OFFICIAL LETTERS TO THE LORDS JUSTICES OF IRELAND. TO MR. DAVENANT. TO THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH. ANSWER OF THE EARL. TO THE DUCHESS OF ST. ALBANS. MINUTES OF OFFICIAL LETTERS. MR. TEMPLE STANYAN. ANECDOTE OF ADDISON. EMBASSY TO THE PORTE. MR. WORTLEY MONTAGU. LETTER OF ADDISON TO HIM. LETTER OF ARCHBISHOP KING. OF MR. BUDGELL. OF MR. GIBSON TO MR. TICKELL. OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY TO MR. ADDISON. LAWRENCE ECHARD. SICKNESS OF ADDISON. LATIN LINES OF VINCENT BOURNE. ADDISON'S LETTER OF RESIGNATION.

THE earl of Sunderland resigned the viceroyalty of Ireland in August 1716—ten months only from his appointment; thus bringing the secretaryship of Addison to an abrupt and untimely end; but scarcely had this circumstance taken place, when an event of an alarming character gave occasion to a fresh

demand upon his public services. This was no other than the rebellion in favor of James II. which broke out in Scotland and the North of England in September 1715. It was speedily suppressed, for the Highland broadswords were unable long to cope with the regular force of the country when fairly mustered; and a more formidable plan of insurrection in the West of England had been disconcerted by the timely precautions of the government. It also plainly appeared, that when put to the proof, the English jacobites were little disposed to risk their estates and lives for the title of that king whom they toasted with noisy bravado over their flowing bowls. Charles Edward, whose arrival was delayed till all reasonable hope had vanished, was obliged to reembark with precipitation early in the month of February 1716. In the meantime however, the fact of such a competitor openly assuming the regal title within the ancient kingdom of his ancestors, issuing proclamations, and appointing a day for his coronation at Scone, — could not be viewed without anxiety by the ministry of George I., or by any sincere friend to the Protestant succession.

Even after the complete dispersion of the rebels, the flight or capture of their leaders, and the disappearance of their pageant monarch, the party was known still to possess a kind of hidden strength which was by no means to be neglected. Almost

the whole of the tory and high church interest, in disgust at the exclusion of its chiefs from that political ascendancy which it haughtily claimed as a kind of right, was at least *talking* jacobitism and treason very openly; many were still plotting in its favor, and a tempting opportunity might on a sudden change words into deeds. Under such circumstances, it was incumbent on the government, among other means of defence, to make it evident that the cause sanctioned by the laws and victorious in the combat, was equally able to assert itself in the fair field of argument; and for this important enterprise, Addison was the selected champion.

Such was the origin of a work, in some respects the most considerable of its author, and bearing throughout the inimitable stamp of his best manner. Its form was the same under which he had already conveyed to his contemporaries so much of instruction and delight; that of detached papers appearing periodically; but unlike the *Tatler* and its successors, it was avowedly the production of a single author, calling himself a *Freeholder*; it contained no letters to the editor, whether real or fictitious, and the purpose was entirely and professedly political. The numbers appeared twice only in the week, and the publication took place between December 23. 1715, and June 29. 1716; thus the papers are fifty-five.

Steele, moved perhaps by a secret feeling of mor-

tification that he had not himself been appointed to take up the gauntlet in a cause for which, as he boasted, he was the only man who had done "all that he could;" criticized the selection of his friend. Government, he said, had "made choice of a flute when they ought to have taken a trumpet." But cooler and wiser heads were aware, that the trumpet had nearly done its office, and that it would soon be time to let a softer voice be heard, applying itself to lull what were called by Addison, "the after-tossings of a sea when the storm is laid." For this office who else could be so well fitted? Who was there so excellently skilled in those gentle and graceful, and amusing arts by which *reason*,—the greatest of all tranquillizers,—may be successfully insinuated into the most prejudiced and angry bosoms?

In the concluding paper he has thus explained both the method and the spirit in which he had performed his task. "I have endeavoured to make every paper a distinct essay upon some particular subject, without deviating into points foreign to the tenor of each discourse. They are indeed most of them essays upon government, but with a view to the present situation of affairs in Great Britain; so that if they have the good fortune to live longer than works of this nature generally do, future readers may see in them the complexion of the times in which they were written.

“As to the reasonings in these several papers, I must leave them to the judgment of others. I have taken particular care that they should be conformable to our constitution, and free from the mixture of violence and passion which so often creeps into the works of political writers. A good cause doth not want any bitterness to support it, as a bad one cannot subsist without it. It is indeed observable that an author is scurrilous in proportion as he is dull, and seems rather to be in a passion, because he cannot find out what to say for his own opinion, than because he has discovered any pernicious absurdities in those of his antagonists. A man satirized by writers of this class, is like one burnt in the hand with a cold iron. There may be ignominious terms and words of infamy in the stamp, but they leave no impression behind them.

“It would indeed have been unpardonable insolence for a fellow-subject to treat in a vindictive and cruel style, those persons whom his Majesty has endeavoured to reduce to obedience by gentle methods, which he has declared from the throne to be most agreeable to his inclinations.”

The different topics conducive to the writer's purpose are handled in lucid order; and with great cogency, for the most part, of argumentation; they prove how well the author knew and appreciated the benefits of the free constitution of which he had been

all his life a faithful defender; but he had other, and perhaps more powerful weapons at command, than those of pure reason. His wit and humour, and the unrivalled felicity of his similes and illustrations, appear nowhere to more advantage than in the lighter papers with which he has varied his *Freeholders*; and although here employed on the most captious subjects, such is the mastery of his skill, that the edged-tools scarcely draw blood. Even his *Tory Foxhunter*, that triumph of satirical delineation, is saved, by his ultimate conversion to wiser and juster opinions, from the unmitigated contempt and aversion with which we should otherwise regard him. The exquisitely ludicrous "*Memoirs of a Preston rebel*," might be forgiven, even by one of themselves, when all was over, in consideration of the superiority of cowardice which it justly ascribes to the loyal train-bands of Cumberland; and if the *Annals of the Pretender* gave offence to his partisans, it must have been more from the aptness than the severity of that admirable burlesque. The highly-wrought allegory of the *Temple of Rebellion* covers serious truths, which might be applied with benefit by all who had approached its perilous precincts.

The most extraordinary feature however, and that which, as its author indeed observes, distinguishes this from all other political works, is, that a great

part of it is addressed to the ladies. Addison was so accustomed, according to the phrase of Swift, to "*fair sex it*," that he could not long consider any subjects connected with manners and the state of society and opinion, without taking into his view the mode in which they affected the weaker half of the species. Unfortunately the tone which he has here chosen to assume, is more contemptuous, and more constantly that of banter, than in any of his former sets of papers; and there are coarse reflections occasionally thrown out which cannot be read without serious displeasure. Yet it must be owned, that his strokes against female rebels and petticoated politicians seldom fail to *tell*. Thus he remarks, that the whig ladies, "as they daily do duty at court, are much more expert in the use of their airs and graces than their female antagonists, who are most of them bred in the country. So that the sisterhood of loyalists, in respect of the fair malcontents, are like an army of regular forces compared with a raw undisciplined militia. It is to this misfortune in their education that we may ascribe the rude and opprobrious language in which the disaffected part of the sex treat the present royal family. A little lively rustic, who hath been trained up in ignorance and prejudice, will prattle treason a whole winter's evening, and string together a parcel of silly seditious stories, that are equally void of decency and truth." And again :

“ This sharp political humour has but lately prevailed in so great a measure as it now does among the beautiful part of our species. They used to employ themselves wholly in the scenes of a domestic life, and provided a woman could keep her house in order, she never troubled herself about regulating the commonwealth. The eye of the mistress was wont to make her pewter shine, and to inspect every part of her household furniture as much as her looking glass. But at present our discontented matrons are so wholly conversant in matters of state, that they wholly neglect their private affairs: for we may always observe, that a gossip in politics is a slattern in her family.

“ It is indeed a melancholy thing to see the disorders of a household that is under the conduct of an angry stateswoman, who lays out all her thoughts upon the public, and is only attentive to find out miscarriages in the ministry. Several women of this turn are so earnest in contending for hereditary right, that they wholly neglect the education of their own sons and heirs; and are so taken up with their zeal for the Church, that they cannot find time to teach their children the catechism.”

“ A man is startled,” he observes, “ when he sees a pretty bosom heaving with such party rage as is disagreeable even in that sex which is of a more coarse and rugged make. And yet such is our mis-

fortune that we sometimes see a pair of stays ready to burst with sedition ; and hear the most masculine passions expressed in the sweetest voices. I have lately been told of a country-gentlewoman pretty much famed for this virility of behaviour in party disputes, who, upon venting her notions very freely in a strange place, was carried before an honest justice of peace. This prudent magistrate observing her to be a large black woman, and finding by her discourse that she was no better than a rebel in her riding-hood, began to suspect her for my lord Nithsdale, till a stranger came to her rescue, who assured him, with tears in his eyes, that he was her husband."

Since the writer has informed us that "the complexion of the times" might be hereafter judged of by these papers, we may be allowed to infer from so many peevish jeers on female zeal, that it was at this crisis chiefly exerted *against* the reigning family ; and it would not be difficult to assign reasons why this should have been the case. Romance and sentiment were sure to take under their protection the young, disinherited and unfortunate royal adventurer.

The death of lord Somers gave occasion to a very noble character of this illustrious statesman, which occupies one number of the Freeholder. In another, as has been already mentioned, a recommendation of Pope's translation of Homer, and Rowe's of Lucan, is with some violence introduced. The virtues and

graces of the princess of Wales, afterwards queen Caroline, are celebrated with the highest degree of courtly elegance, and it must be owned, with somewhat of courtly adulation. Eulogy on George I. is likewise carried somewhat further perhaps than strict justice would warrant. It must however be recollected, that at so critical a juncture it was undoubtedly the part of patriotism to make strenuous efforts towards raising up, on behalf of a new and foreign dynasty, that spirit of loyalty so aptly styled “the cheap defence of nations.”

By means of those lively turns of thought and expression which his imagination was ever ready to suggest, Addison has raised one of his most brilliant papers on the unpromising theme of the frequent changes made in the value of the French coins by Louis XIV; — a fiscal art or fraud, which it is intimated that the Pretender might be expected to imitate, should he ever achieve the British throne. A few of his sallies are the following:

“I shall not here consider the many evil consequences it must have upon their trade, their exchange, and public credit. I shall only take notice of the whimsical circumstances a people must lie under, who can thus be made poor or rich by an edict, which can throw an alloy into a *Louis d’or*, and debase it into half its former value, or, if his Majesty pleases, raise the price of it, not by the accession of

metal, but of a mark. . . . This conveys a kind of fairy treasure into their chests, even while they are under lock and key ; and is a secret of multiplication without addition."

"One cannot but pity the melancholy condition of a miser in this country, who is perpetually telling his *livres* without being able to know how rich he is. He is as ridiculously puzzled and perplexed as a man that counts the stones on Salisbury plain, which can never be settled to any certain number, but are more or fewer every time he reckons them."

"The uncertainty of riches is a subject much discoursed of in all countries, but may be insisted on more emphatically in France than any other. A man is here under such a kind of situation as one who is managed by a juggler. He fancies he has so many pieces of money in his hand ; but let him grasp them never so carefully, upon a word or two of the artist they increase or dwindle to what number the Doctor is pleased to name."

Such then was the Freeholder ; a work which no lover of the genius of Addison will permit himself to pass over as obsolete. If the interests which it was written to support were in some degree temporary ones, the principles involved must be as lasting as the British constitution, and the wit and humour are in their nature immortal.

It was probably in reward of this fresh service

that he received the appointment of one of the Commissioners for Trade and Colonies; a post of very considerable profit and little labor, but well deserved by his former exertions.

In a different quarter, his diligence, seconded probably by his improved circumstances, likewise found its recompense. On August 2, 1716, he received the hand of Charlotte countess dowager of Warwick, daughter of sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk Castle Denbighshire, by a coheiress of sir Orlando Bridgeman, and mother of the young lord whose education he seems to have superintended. How long his attachment to this lady had previously subsisted, we have no precise information; but the futility of Tonson's notion, that he had formed the design of getting her for his wife from the time of his first being, according to the unworthy phrase of this bookseller, "recommended into the family," may be easily shown. His letters to the young earl of Warwick, already given, are dated in May 1708; while that to Mr. Wortley Montagu in which he complains of having lost his mistress, was written in the middle of the year 1711. It follows that up to this time at least he could have entertained no thoughts of the countess. There is probably little more of truth and justice in the splenetic, and at the same time lax and careless account, given by Johnson of this event; which deserves to be quoted

chiefly for reprehension. "This year he married the countess dowager of Warwick, whom he had solicited by a very long and anxious courtship, *perhaps* with behaviour not very unlike that of sir Roger to his disdainful widow; and who, I am afraid, diverted herself often by playing with his passion." After here relating the idle guess of Tonson already mentioned, and professing ignorance when, or how, Addison had lived as tutor in the Warwick family, the critic thus proceeds with guesses of his own. "His advances at first were certainly timorous, but grew bolder as his reputation and influence increased; till at last the lady was persuaded to marry him, on terms much like those on which a Turkish princess is espoused, to whom the Sultan is reported to pronounce, 'Daughter, I give thee this man for thy slave.' The marriage, if uncontradicted report can be credited, made no addition to his happiness; it neither found them nor made them equal. She always remembered her own rank, and thought herself entitled to treat with very little ceremony the tutor of her son. Rowe's ballad of the Despairing Shepherd is said to have been written, either before or after marriage, upon this memorable pair; and it is certain that Addison has left behind him no encouragement for ambitious love."

We cannot but perceive here, that the nature and the length of the courtship of Addison is described

not from known facts, but from a supposed resemblance to that of his own sir Roger. It would be much more plausible to conjecture, that the author of certain too broad sarcasms on the state of widowhood contained in the Freeholder, could not yet have been engaged in serious addresses to a lady of that condition. The assertion that he was represented by Rowe as a despairing shepherd *either before or after marriage* is much to be admired for its precision. Indeed a Turkish princess might well be supposed to fill with deeper despair a husband than a lover! But had this lady been accustomed to think herself entitled to treat with little ceremony the tutor of her son, it is surely by no means probable that on this experience the tutor should ever have sought a nearer connection with a woman whom he must have found so thoroughly unamiable; especially as her youth and bloom must by this time have fled. How far the addresses of a man so celebrated, so welcomed in the first society, occupying a seat in parliament and standing fair for still higher offices in the state than he had yet filled, deserved the epithet "ambitious," with respect to a dowager countess herself of no very distinguished race, may admit a question. Of the terms of pecuniary equality at least on which they came together, we have proof in a passage of a contemporary letter: "Tell lady Henrietta," says Dr. Cheyne writing to lord Harley at Wimpole, "that

lady Warwick's marriage with Mr. Addison was upon terms, he settling (or giving) 4000*l.* in lieu of an estate which she gave up for his sake."*

It seems however that the conjugal unhappiness of Addison stands on "uncontradicted report." A kind of evidence, it may be observed, which requires more than one condition to render it of any value: In the first place, as contradictions seldom reach so far as the first calumnious assertion, the fact that none have been given must be supported by more conclusive evidence than usually belongs to a negative. Secondly, it must be proved that the report which the parties concerned omitted to contradict had come fully to their knowledge: Thirdly, it must be distinctly shown, whether they passed it over in silence as owning its truth, or as feeling and despising its malice and falsehood. A positive evidence of Addison's enduring esteem for his lady will appear hereafter.

Welstead, a poet of some merit, addressed the countess on her nuptials in lines which give not only a more pleasing, but probably a juster view of the sentiments which had influenced her mind and directed her choice:

.
"A pomp you covet not to heralds known,
And sigh for virtues equal to your own;

* Original in the British Museum.

Part in a man immortal greatly claim,
And frown on titles to ally with fame.
Not Edward's star embossed with silver rays
Can vie in glory with thy consort's bays;
His Country's Pride does homage to thy charms,
And every merit crowds into thy arms."

From the period of his marriage, Holland House at Kensington was the principal residence of Addison, but he did not entirely forsake his own favorite Bilton.

During the remainder of the year 1716, nothing is left to be recorded excepting the production of his short poem to Kneller on his portrait of the king, — that most ingenious of jeux-d'esprit in which a parallel is run between the successive English sovereigns painted by this eminent artist, and the deities of Olympus sculptured by the hand of Phidias. A portion of the piece may here find a place, partly in corroboration of Dr. Johnson's sentiment, that "if Addison had cultivated the lighter parts of poetry, he would probably have excelled." Here, the verse flows with the ease of Prior, and the aptest rhymes come trooping as at the call of Swift.

"Great Pan who wont to chase the fair,
And loved the spreading oak, was there;
Old Saturn too with upcast eyes
Beheld his abdicated skies;
And mighty Mars for war renowned
In adamantine armour frowned;
By him the childless Goddess rose,
Minerva, studious to compose

Her twisted threads ; the web she strung
And o'er a loom of marble hung :
Thetis, the troubled ocean's queen,
Match'd with a mortal, next was seen,
Reclining on a funeral urn
Her darling short-liv'd son to mourn.
The last was he whose thunders slew
The Titan race, a rebel crew,
That from a hundred hills ally'd
In impious leagues their king defy'd.
This wonder of the artist's hand
Produced, his art was at a stand." &c.

But these amusements of an involuntary leisure were about to give way once more to the demands of public business. Lord Halifax, as we collect from a narrative by Budgell, who was not without means of information on the subject, had flattered himself, on the accession of George I, with the attainment of the dignity of lord treasurer and the power of a prime minister. In this event, he assured Addison, as they were proceeding together to compliment the new sovereign on his arrival, that he would procure his appointment to the office of one of the principal secretaries of state, and he took pains to combat the objections raised by his diffidence, and chiefly turning on his inability to speak in the house of commons. He also acquainted him that it was expressly with a view to this higher preferment, that he had caused him to be named secretary to the lords justices. But these prepara-

tions proved useless. Lord Halifax, though caressed at court and gratified with an earldom, the place of first commissioner of the treasury and other favors, was not made lord treasurer neither was he declared prime minister. That envied distinction fell to the lot of lord Townshend on whom Addison had no claims; and Halifax died the following year without having had it in his power to serve him further. What his other distinguished patron had done for him in the meantime, we have already seen; but Sunderland also was a disappointed man at the commencement of the reign; and even while holding the viceroyalty of Ireland was in opposition to the minister and seeking his overthrow. At length, partly through the influence which he had succeeded in gaining over the mind of the king, partly through other causes, this object was effected; lord Townshend received his dismissal from the office of secretary of state, and in April 1717 lord Sunderland having succeeded to this post made Addison his colleague.

The inability of the new secretary to undertake the defence of ministerial measures in the house of commons was doubtless a serious inconvenience; but this part might be supplied by others, and it must have been therefore a more decided disqualification, if such were the case, that he was slow and hesitating in the performance of the ordinary duties of

his office. He was a better man of business, some one has said, than Prior, but still a bad one. How far even this is true, cannot now be known, but the reproach of Pope, eagerly caught up as usual by Johnson, "that he could not issue an order without losing his time in quest of fine expressions," is certainly not borne out by his letters of business still extant. These, as the reader will already have observed, are clear and concise, without idle flourishes or any other ornament of style than that gracefulness of turn which was his inseparable attribute. In the hope of gaining fuller satisfaction on this subject, the present writer obtained permission to inspect and transcribe any copies of his official correspondence which might be found at the State paper office. The results have been less copious by much than had been hoped. It appears that at this period official papers were not preserved in public repositories with the care and regularity due to their importance as historical documents. In consequence, but few of the letters of Addison's secretaryship are here to be met with; and the greater part of these, as well as of the "orders," relate merely to matters of routine, destitute of all interest for the general reader. A few however of a different character were found, which will here be given together with some of the same nature derived from private collections.

Out of several answers to congratulatory letters on his appointment, the following alone appears to possess some interest, both as evincing the esteem entertained for Addison by the principal members of the Irish privy council, and showing that, in addition to the duties of an English secretary of state, he discharged during the vacancy of the office of lord lieutenant, most of those of the Irish secretaryship.

MR. SECRETARY ADDISON TO THE LORDS JUSTICES
OF IRELAND.

I am highly sensible of the honour Your Excellences do me by your kind letter of congratulation upon my coming into a troublesome Post. I shall take a great deal of pleasure in it if it qualifies me to perform any thing that may be agreeable to Your Excellences, because I know every thing that is so will be for his Majesty's service. As many of the affairs of Ireland are to pass through my hands, I shall give them all the dispatch possible, and be always glad of receiving any commands from your Excellences,
being &c

April 23. 1717.

The letters to ministers at foreign courts are mostly written in a tone of intimacy which shows

how much his private friendships had taken the line of diplomatic persons, — a fresh refutation of the assertions of Spence, or Pope, respecting his small knot of habitual associates. Thus, immediately after his appointment, he writes to Mr. Davenant envoy at Genoa, “I cannot let this post go without assuring you that you may command the good offices which I am able to do you in my new station, which you may believe I did not enter upon without much reluctance.”

From the same gentleman there is an exceedingly curious letter giving notice of its being suspected that a set of people mix poisonous liquors called “Aquetta di Tofania from a Greek woman who thirty years ago introduced the same into Sicily,” where the viceroy put to death many nobles for using it. That it had since got to Naples, where two friars, a nun and a Genoese, had been examined, since which discovery liquors had been seized and given to dogs on trial. That in the last week two German soldiers and three Neapolitan women had been hanged for making and selling the aqua Tofana, by which six hundred persons had been poisoned, and that many more were still in prison for it.

In consequence of this warning, Addison writes to the comptroller of the customs directing him to take such measures as may prove effectual to prevent the introduction of these liquors into England.

A letter in the hand-writing of the secretary to that very extraordinary personage Charles earl of Peterborough, the 'Mordanto' of Swift, whose superabundant activity, both of body and mind, was incessantly hurrying him into suspicious designs and perils of a thousand kinds, is in these terms.

MR. ADDISON TO THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.

May 6. 1717.

My Lord,

His Majesty having received complaints from the Court of Vienna that your Lordship in your travels through Italy has talked much against the interest of the Emperor, and spoken of his person in a reflecting manner, I am commanded to acquaint you that his Majesty thinks such a way of talking is very improper, especially in the country in which your Lordship is at present, since your Lordship knows very well that his Majesty is in friendship and good alliance with the Emperor. His Majesty is also of opinion, as well out of his consideration for your safety, as out of his regard for the Emperor, that your Lordship should not go into the kingdom of Naples, nor into any other of the Emperor's dominions in Italy, lest any misfortune should befall you on that account, or any occasion be given for a new complaint.

I am &c

The answer of lord Peterborough to this admonition on the part of his sovereign was not found at the State paper office ; but this very curious and characteristic document is here given from the original, now in the possession of Edward Tickell, Esq.

It may here be mentioned, that before the warning dispatched by Addison had reached the earl, he had been arrested at Bologna by order of the papal legate, but as it may be suspected, at other instigation,—and detained a month in close confinement in the castle of Urbino, on a preposterous charge of a design to assassinate the Pretender ; after which he was liberated with a profusion of apologies. The news of this transaction caused strong expressions of indignation on the part of the English court, but no proper satisfaction was exacted for so flagrant an outrage on the liberty of a British subject. It is somewhat extraordinary that lord Peterborough in his letter should make no allusion to this strange affair.

THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH TO MR. SECRETARY
ADDISON.

S^r

I am very much obliged to his Maty for the advertisement he has been pleased to order you to give me, it is a satisfaction to receive it from your

hands, being confident my answer will be fairly represented.

Whenever I am apprised of any objection to my conduct I hope it will be easy to set aside all false reports. I am a little surprized that a person so retired, so entirely inactive, should be y^e subject of such representations, but lesse so because I am of opinion, that in all y^e space of Time there never was any other, that so well deserved y^e Title of y^e Lying age.

I take y^e Liberty to assert that I never spoke of y^e Person of y^e Emperor but with respect, against his interests is so generall a Term, y^e common Liberty of discourse may be brought under that head; if they will name y^e place, y^e person, y^e expressions, I believe I might prove y^e complaint very grundlesse.

I take y^e Liberty to inform you what I think may have been y^e occasion, and indeed y^e Truth. A Relation of mine at Rome coming from Vienna tould me I was very much out of favour att that Court, that in their discourse they were pleased principally to lay to my charge y^e last peace, with many assertions as ridiculous as false; they were pleased to make me a disposer of Kingdoms, when y^e Truth is no man ever more opposed any Transaction than I did y^t of y^e peace.

It is true I never made it my businesse to contradict any thing they were pleased to suggest, or

pretend to believe. I had no favours to ask of y^e Emperour, and thought att least my former Services might have deserved a free passage thro' his Territories if my occasions required itt, from which however I can absent myself without any mortification.

I believe they are perswaded at y^e Court of Vienna, and perhaps elsewhere that I might have been instrumentale in procuring y^e Kingdom of Sicily for y^e Duke of Savoy, but even that is as directly opposite to truth as many other repports on my Subject. I have waited, and indeed with some impatience to sett some matters in a true Light, and this amongst others, but as crimes have been pretended in England, yet examinations and punishments delayed, the Time is not yett come when I think myself at Liberty, being resolved not to aggravate any person's misfortunes; when an act of indemnity is past, or that such persons may have received y^e punishments which perhaps their actions may have deserved, I can with more satisfaction publish what will convince all mankind, that no man more opposed y^e measures of y^e late Ministry, especially in all things relating to y^e peace, and even that part of it which relates to Sicily.

You may be surprised when I tell you that tho' Ambassadour to y^e Queen of England and obliged to acquaint y^e Duke of Savoy with y^e proposalls made in relation to Sicily, yett so far from perswading y^t

Prince to accept y^e offer, I will produce to y^e world my reasons given to his R. H. in writing against the acceptance, not only so, but corroborated with all y^e arguments I could offer to show his true interest was never to depart from that of y^e house of Austria. I have not bragged of this to y^e Ministers of Vienna, but this is a fact which in a little time no person shall be able to contradict. I must add this S^r, that when I took this Liberty I acquainted his Royall Highnesse that I did not look upon myself as any longer y^e Queen's minister, being resolved to return home without staying for residentiale letters, which accordingly I did.

It shall not be long before Prince Eugene shall be my witnesse that I was y^e occasion of his coming into England to obstruct y^e peace, that I made y^e proposalls to y^e Emperour and himself, which had they been pursued exactly would have obtained y^e desired effect.

But that I may not in y^e least deviate from Truth (having I confesse no motives or inclinations to make compliments) it may be True y^t being informed of such discourses at Vienna on my Subject I might say, that I wondered an Emperour whether pleased or displeased, did not think fit to pay me y^e money that I had lent him to release his Troops taken at Cuenca in Castille upon my Lord Galloway's retreat to Valencia, att a time when I was no longer in

service, as likewise money lent to his Minister who was without a Pistole att Genoa, he having lost all his Equipage aboard my Son's shipp which was destroyed by y^e French.

I might say perhaps it was hard after so many services paid him and having carried him and his whole Court from Lisbon to Barcelona att my own expence to no lesse a losse to my family than near fifteen thousand pounds, for w^h from y^e Emperour or y^e Court of England I never had y^e least satisfaction, I might say it was hard to be rewarded with nothing but false repports to my prejudice, and to be accounted an Ennemy when no private person in y^e world can give such instances of Service to any Prince. It is true I have been payed y^e summe I am going to mention, but with y^e Losse of above a thousand pounds to obtain itt. I lent y^e Emperour Twenty thousand pounds to enable his army to take y^e field y^e last yeare of y^e warr, and engaged all I had to procure itt, att no little hazard of loosing it all; if such usage after such endeavours to serve this Prince should occasion some complaint, itt were carrying itt very Highe in a Christian Country that therefore I might not goe thro' his Dominions with safety, but without doubt it is a cheaper way of paying with imaginary accusations than with money.

I received y^e favour of your letter but Two dayes agoe att Paris, as soon as it had come to my hands I

should immediately have returned my answer, I shall in England give you a more satisfactory account than I can doe in writing, I expect to be in London in some little time after this letter.

But in a word Sr, whatever my Thoughts may be of y^e usage I have met with, what you have represented to me by y^e King's command, shall make me very carefull not to give y^e least occasion for such reports, for indeed complaints signifye little, or any measures towards obtaining satisfaction in matters of money from this Court.

Sr.

Your most humble and obedient Serv^t.

PETERBOROW.

Paris July the 4th. 1717.

Even in addressing a court lady on a court occasion, the excellent taste of the Secretary will be found to have preserved him from exceeding the just measure of handsome phrase and respectful demonstration.

MR. ADDISON TO THE DUCHESS OF ST. ALBANS.

Nov^r. 8. 1717.

Madam.

Though I did not receive the honour of your Grace's letter till my return from Hampton Court, which was at ten o'clock last night, the messenger

whom I immediately dispatched upon that occasion, brought me his Majesty's commands by five this morning to respite the execution of the condemned criminals. I therefore humbly entreat your Grace to acquaint Her Royal Highness that the King has been pleased to order a week's reprieve for such as are now in Newgate under sentence of death, and were to have suffered this day. A reprieve of this kind is the first usual step towards a pardon, and I hope will end in such a one as is hoped for, that the universal joy on such an occasion as is that of the young prince's birth may extend even to the persons and families of these miserable men.

I am very proud of this opportunity of performing my duty in obeying the commands which Her Royal Highness has been pleased to honour me with.

I am &c.

It was at the baptism of this young prince, shortly after, that the long smothered enmity between George I. and his son broke out into an open flame on the choice of a sponsor; and the prince and princess with their children were commanded to quit their apartments in St. James's.

Is this the latest known example of the absurd practice of letting malefactors loose again on society in honour of an addition to the royal family?

On September 12. we find a minute of a letter

written by the secretary to lord Stair, ambassador at Paris, recommending that the Regent should be desired to protect lord Bolinbroke from insults, he wishing to reconcile himself with the King, and directing a pass for England to be given to his servant.

We can conceive the reflections of Addison on this fresh instance of the tergiversation of his rash and restless predecessor in office.

A few days afterwards he had the gratification of announcing to the Lord lieutenant of Ireland the willingness of his Majesty to grant a sum of money to Dublin college for the purpose of founding a library.

In December Mr. Secretary is reported ill, and Mr. Temple Stanyan writes a letter in his name. This gentleman was probably of the same family with Mr. Abraham Stanyan, Addison's diplomatic friend and correspondent. It appears that they lived together on terms of intimacy, and Dr. Birch relates on the subject the following anecdote. Mr. Temple Stanyan had on some emergency borrowed a sum of money from Addison, who soon remarked that his debtor ceased to converse with him on equal terms, and instead of freely controverting his opinions as before, now yielded a tame assent to whatever he was pleased to advance. The change displeased him, and one day when Mr. Stanyan had expressed his perfect

conformity of sentiment on some topic which had frequently been the subject of keen dispute between them, he exclaimed with heat, "Either contradict me, sir, or pay me my money!" Mr. Abraham Stanyan was soon after this time appointed to the embassy of Constantinople, as appears from a letter not deposited in the State Paper Office, being a private communication, but which both on account of its subject and its date ought here to find a place. The accession of George I. had drawn forth from a rural retirement both Mr. Wortley Montagu, and the accomplished lady Mary, who a few years before had become his wife. By the interest partly of his relation lord Halifax, Mr. Wortley was made a commissioner of the treasury; he was much esteemed by the king, and in 1716 was appointed ambassador to the Porte, for the special purpose of mediating a peace between the Sultan and the Emperor. The negotiation proved unsuccessful; and George I. in some dissatisfaction as it seems with his representative, ordered letters of recal to be dispatched to him, which were dated September 28. 1717, and countersigned by Addison as secretary. Desirous of softening the blow as much as possible, to a friend whom he had so long loved and valued, the secretary entrusted to the same courier the following letter.

MR. ADDISON TO MR. WORTLEY MONTAGU.

Dear sir,

September 28. 1717.

Having been confined to my chamber for some time by a dangerous fit of sickness, I find upon my coming abroad, that some things have passed which I think myself obliged to communicate to you, not as the Secretary to the Ambassador, but as an humble servant to his friend. Mr. Benson being convinced that forms of law would in their ordinary course be very tedious and dilatory in the affair of the auditors, has procured the grant of a reversion for those places to you and himself, after which, if an ejectment ensues, you are in immediate possession. This ejectment, he believes, may be soon brought about by law, unless a voluntary surrender make such a proceeding unnecessary. Our great men are of opinion that upon your being possessed (which they look upon as sure and sudden) it would be agreeable to your inclinations, as well as for the King's service, which you are so able to promote in parliament, rather to return to your own country than to live at Constantinople. For this reason, they have thoughts of relieving you by Mr. Stanyan, who is now at the Imperial court, and of joining sir Robert Sutton with him in the mediation of a peace between the Emperor and the Turks.

I need not suggest to you that Mr. Stanyan is in great favour at Vienna, and how necessary it is to

humor that court in the present juncture. Besides, as it would have been for your honour to have acted as sole mediator in such a negotiation, perhaps it would not have been so agreeable to you to act only in commission. This was suggested to me the other day by one of our first ministers, who told me that he believed sir R. Sutton's being joined in a mediation which was carried on by my lord Paget singly, would be shocking to you, but that they could be more free with a person of Mr. Stanyan's quality. I find by his Majesty's way of speaking of you, that you are much in his favour and esteem, and I fancy you would find your ease and advantage more in being nearer his person than at the distance you are from him at present. I omit no opportunity of doing you justice where I think it is for your service, and wish I could know your mind as to these several particulars, by a more speedy and certain conveyance, that I might act accordingly to the utmost of my power. Madame Kilmansech and my lady Hervey desire me to forward the inclosed to my lady Mary Wortley, to whom I beg you will deliver them with my most humble respects.

I am ever sir &c.*

This is the last notice we possess of the intercourse between these old friends and fellow travellers; but

* See Works of Lady M. Wortley Montagu.

as Mr. Wortley returned to England in the middle of the next year, it may be believed that they enjoyed the satisfaction of a brief reunion before their final parting. Lady Mary in her letters, several times mentions Addison, and always with esteem; near the end of her correspondence and her life, we find her commemorating him to her daughter as, "ever your father's friend."

A few more letters derived from the Tickell collection will serve to give an idea of the crowd of "other men's affairs" which in the midst of his official duties, pressed upon the attention of the secretary. It was however in consequence of his charge of Irish affairs that he received in the following terms the congratulations and commissions of the archbishop of Dublin.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN TO MR. SECRETARY ADDISON.

Bath Ap^l. 22
1717.

This is hastily to congratulate you on his Majesty's placing you in yo^r present post of honour and trust; I cou'd not but be at a loss, when I found all those with whom I transacted any business in London, vanish on a sudden, so y^t I cou'd not tell where to apply if I had any occasion, but when I found y^t the affairs of Ireland were to pass thro' your hands as Secretary of State it gave me great comfort. I hope

I need not bespeak your favour to y^e poor kingdom of Ireland; you have so many y^t esteem and love you there, y^t I persuade myself you will not come short of the confidence they have in you, or expectations they have from you. On the assurance I have of your friendship to the kingdom in general and to me in particular, I presume to recommend to yo^r favour the bearer Mr. Savill; I have employed him to solicit an affair relating to y^e clergy of Ireland, it concerns the crown rents they pay his Majesty out of their Rectorys. I and the Bishop of Derry presented a memorial to him which he received very graciously, and ordered it to be referred to y^e L^d. Townsend, then L^d. L^t. of Ireland, his Lordship seemed to approve y^e matter and promised to put it in its ordinary course, which is to refer it to y^e Justices; but y^t not being done, as indeed I was not forward to have it done till I got there to manage it, I am afraid y^e matter for y^e present is at a stand. The favour I wou^d entreat of you is to discourse Mr. Savill y^e agent about it, he will give you the memorial, and apprise you of y^e affair, and I hope if there be occasion for a new Reference from his Majesty to his Grace y^e Duke of Bolton, you will procure it, and get it referr'd to the L^ds Justices, and give it to Mr. Savill. There is another little business, and it was a grant by my L^d Sunderland of the employment of y^e King's printer to Mr. Nicholas King. A grant was

past for it, but before it cou'd pass the seals it was too late and y^e L^d. L^t. was changed, I was promised a new grant by my L^d Townsend, but waited 'till I shou'd go to Ireland, you procured it first for me and I hope you will help to make it good. Coll. B has promised to recommend it to you.

S^r I hope you will pardon this trouble; I assure you I will give you as little as I can, and shall be ready to serve you on all such occasions. Whilst, which I shall always be

S^r

Yo^r Most Humble

Serv^t.

WILL: DUBLIN.

I was four times to wait on my L^d Sunderland before I left London but had not the happiness to see him, make my services acceptable to his L^dship.

Budgell, who had been filling with great credit to himself the offices of clerk to the council and secretary to the Lords Justices in Ireland, and through the favor of Addison, had just been appointed accountant and comptroller general for that kingdom, writes a letter chiefly on his own affairs, but containing an interesting account of the first appearance as a public speaker of the duke of Wharton — a prodigy of precocious talent, in whom Addison from his connection with his father would feel an interest.

MR. BUDGELL TO MR. SECRETARY ADDISON.

Hon^d. SrAug^t. y^e 28th. 1717.

It is with y^e utmost joy that I congratulate you upon y^e recovery of your health. Since before I left London you were pleased to express your desire (which I shall ever look upon as a command) that I should give you some account of affairs on this side y^e water, I presume to inform you that yesterday our Parliam^t. opened, about 90 members of y^e House of Commons being in town, who seem to be well enough inclined to make this session an easie one. My Lord Lieut.^v's speech was generally liked. I believe I need not tell you Sr that y^e D of Wharton is among us, and that as his Grace went from Coventry to Holyhead in company with my L^d. Lieut^t. he did several things at the Places where they lay &c in y^e gayety of his heart which some think had as well been let alone. He was yesterday introduced into our house of Lords as Marq^s. of Carlow tho' he is not yet of age, which is the highest compliment could have been paid him. It is pretty remarkable that his Grace and y^e young L^d. Hillsborough who was introduced just after him were y^e only persons who spoke in y^e House of Lords all that day. His Grace's speech was thought by some not so well timed. Since y^e design of it seemed to be to persuade the house to address y^e King which they had before unani-

mously agreed to, but bating this his Grace spoke good sense with a strong voice and good air, and in all probability, since he shews so early a desire to be a speaker, must one day make a very considerable figure in Parliament. He has asked me how you did two or three times very kindly.

I am not got in possession of my new Employment, tho' I am promised it as soon as y^e acc^{ts}. are delivered in, but I hope S^r when you answer the letter you receiv'd by y^e last post, you will not seem to believe that such an obstacle, as some people would have it thought; since I have given you a true account of that matter. I have been wished joy by our Members of Parliament and every body else who is my friend. It has been put in our public papers and should there be any design in this delay to hinder me from enjoying what y^e King has given, which I cannot possibly believe, I must never think of staying in Ireland.

I am with y^e utmost gratitude and Respect

Hon^d. S^r.

Your most obliged Kinsman

and most obed^t. humble Serv^t.

E BUDGELL.

P. S.

I have delivered Lady Warwicks letter to my Lady Dutchess *, who received me very kindly.

* Of Bolton, the Duke was now Lord Lieutenant.

His college put in her claims to the good offices of so distinguished an alumnus through the following address to Mr. Tickell, now holding a situation in the secretary of state's office.

MR. GIBSON TO MR. TICKELL.

Dear Sir,

Queen's Coll.
June 12. 1717.

I cannot believe myself in a mistake when I take it for granted that no employment besides the King's can be more grateful to you than such as tends to y^e interest of Queens. I shall therefore without unnecessary ceremony continue to lay such things before you as I take to be of that nature to be thought of by you at your leisure and communicated and improved as you think proper. I am often flattering myself that Queen's College cannot be in a low condition whilst she has y^e honour to lay claim to so many persons in eminent stations, or her buildings be at a stand whilst they have such abilities and generous tempers. A Queen's College Secretary of State laid y^e foundation, and who can tell how far another may carry it on (at least by good offices) if one so much respected by him as yourself should give a seasonable hint, and that were seconded by such persons as y^e Bishops of Carlisle and Lincoln.

For my part I should have a great deal of pleasure in y^e tender of my addresses. If I could tell how to offer them without presumption. I must own I have no little ambition to see the Hon.^{ble} Mr. Addison's arms over against Sir Jos. Williamson's in our new Chapel, and to hear him annually celebrated in our Founder's speech, as a Benefactor, as he has constantly been one of y^e brightest ornaments of our College. 'Tis a pity that my Lord Lonsdale never see this place in order to form a true judgment of y^e great use and benefit it is to our country in general. By the little conversation I had y^e honour to have with his Lordship some years agoe at Lowther I perceived so much humanity and goodness as made me hope he would become an ample subject for y^e best Orator Westmorland or Cumberland could produce with y^e advantage of an Oxford Education. Without any rhetorick to Mr. Tickell I beg leave to put him in mind of what I shall ever think my duty, viz that Queen's College should always have a due share of his thoughts, and that his leisure hours cannot be more happily employed than in concerting with his friends y^e best measures for promoting y^e interest of our Common Parent. I have abundance more to say to you on this subject, which you will have after I return from y^e progress if you favour me with a few lines on tuesday night next directed to be left with Mr. Brougham at Southampton. I am inter-

rupted with a visit, and can only add my respects to all friends, and assure you that I am with sincerity,

Sir,

Your affec: humble serv^t.

JOHN GIBSON.

The archbishop of Canterbury addressed him on a business of charity in the following terms:

ARCHBISHOP WAKE TO MR. SECRETARY ADDISON.

Honored Sir,

Dec^r. 31. 1717.

I had the favour of your letter yesterday by Mr. Stevens, but was so full of company that it was scarce possible for me then to have return'd such an answer as I ought to it, I assured Mr. Stevens by word of mouth that I should esteem myself very happy if I could serve any friend of yours; and that as to himself in particular, if by what he desired of a Prebend of Worcester in exchange for the Living you have been pleased to give him in the city, I could also accommodate Mr. Shute, who has not only served but suffered for the government, I should be most ready to join with you in any recommendation you should think fit to make of this matter to his majesty.

Permit me Sir, upon this occasion to put you in mind of honest Mr. Eachard, who is now on his way

hither to publish his History, and present it, as we agreed, to his Majesty. His circumstances are so much worse than I thought, that if we cannot get somewhat pretty considerable for him, I doubt he will sink under the weight of his debts. My lord Sunderland is a lover of books, and of learned men: he has promised, on your account especially, to be kind to this poor Gentleman. I verily believe that 300 guineas for the 3 vols. may as easily be procured from the King as 200*l*: And I hope you will please to propose that, as a gratification, to his Lordship.

I heartily beg your excuse of this charitable trouble; and wishing you a perfect recovery of your Health, and many happy years in the enjoyment of it, remain with the truest respect

Honrd Sr. Yo^r most faithful

obedient Humble serv^t

W. CANT.

Laurence Echard, the industrious man of letters who had excited so warm an interest in high places, had already made his name known by an Ecclesiastical and a Roman history, but the work on which he was now engaged, was the completion, down to the accomplishment of the revolution, of a history of England from Julius Cæsar. His principles both in church and state, were somewhat too *high* to give him any natural claim on the patronage of George I.

and of Sunderland, but they were appropriately rewarded by the ecclesiastical preferment of which he progressively attained a considerable share.

In the midst of these multifarious applications and correspondences, some of them resulting from his official station and duties, others from the eminence of his reputation as a scholar and a patron of scholars, and others again from his constancy in maintaining the friendships of his earlier days and humbler fortunes,—the constitution of Addison was fast yielding under reiterated attacks of disease. It is strange that any biographer should venture, like Dr. Johnson, with the facts which were before him, to represent his retirement from office as a result of real incompetency, glossed over by his friends with the plea of ill health. Addison may, or may not, have proved himself inefficient in a post which he appears to have accepted with strong reluctance and genuine misgivings,—he may have found himself unequal to support its labors,—he may have shrunk from its responsibilities,—but that the state of his health was sufficient, without the concurrence of any other causes, to render his resignation indispensable, is abundantly obvious.

We find frequent references to fits of sickness both in his own letters and those of others. The attack which he mentions in his letter to Mr. Wortley, was evidently an alarming one, since his recovery from

it was thought worthy of serious commemoration in Latin verse by the classic pen of Vincent Bourne; that usher of Westminster school since immortalised in the reminiscences, the praises, and the translations of the poet of the Task.

The lines are these:

O charum Musis! quisquis fuit ille Machaon,

Qui Musis potuit restituisset Decus:

Qui Tibi languenti vires, animamque reduxit

Visuram inferni jam propè regna Dei;

Qui nobis tristes elegos et lugubre carmen

Mutari plectro jam meliore facit.

O! longum maneat, si quid pia vota valebunt,

Præsidium Aonii Deliciæque chori.

Hanc fata incolumem servent, quando altera vita

Servari, Musis tam pretiosa, nequit.

Sint seri luctus, et sint ea funera sera,

Quæ nemo poterit dicere sera nimis.

Sic vovet, Honoratissime Domine,

Tui Nominis amantissimus

Vincentius Bourne

Collegii Trinitatis Alumnus.

Dabam Cantabrigiæ

7 Cal. Septemb.

1717.

A return of the complaint, which appears to have been of an asthmatic nature, soon succeeded to these congratulations, and the secretary was reduced to request his dismissal in a letter preserved in the handwriting of Tickell under the title of

*English Copie of Mr. Sec^y. Addison's letter to y^e
King desiring leave to resign the Seals.*

Sir,

It is with great concern that I find my Health in such a condition as will not permit me to attend the Duties of my Office with that Assiduity and Application which it requires. Though I shall hereby lose the honour and pleasure of serving the greatest and best of Masters in that high station with which your Majesty has been pleased to honour me, I shall embrace every opportunity to the last moment of my Life to promote Y. M.'s Service, which is only promoting that of your people, as all who have had the honour to lay businesse before Y. M^y. ought in justice to acquaint the World. I think it therefore, my Duty both to Y. M.^{ty} and the Publick, to resign with the deepest Sentiments of Gratitude and Humility the Seals of the Secretary's Office, that they may be disposed of to one who, besides an inviolable Zeal and Attachment to Y. M's Interests, in which nobody shall ever go before me I shall never be behind any one, has a suitable Stock of Health to go through the Businesse of so great an Employ.*

* Tickell papers. In what language the original was written does not appear. Walpole could confer with his German master only in bad Latin, but Addison's instrument of communication was probably French.

CHAPTER XIV.

1717 to 1719.

ADDISON IN RETIREMENT. LETTERS TO SWIFT. LITERARY PROJECTS. PEERAGE BILL. WRITES THE OLD WHIG AGAINST STEELE'S PLEBEIAN. ACCOUNT OF THE CONTROVERSY. DEATH OF ADDISON. DISCUSSION OF HIS IMPUTED INTEMPERANCE. HIS WILL IN FAVOUR OF HIS LADY. ANECDOTES OF HIS LAST DAYS. NOTICE OF HIM BY WHISTON. HIS INTERVIEW WITH GAY. CIRCUMSTANCE RELATED BY DR. YOUNG. HIS FUNERAL AND MONUMENT. NOTICE OF HIS DAUGHTER. HIS LIBRARY AND PICTURES. CONCLUSION.

THE resignation of the Secretary was accepted in March 1718, eleven months only after his appointment, and his friend Mr. Craggs promoted in his room. Addison had enjoyed the lucrative post of one of the commissioners for trade and plantations, but a short time when, on attaining the situation of a principal secretary of state, he had relinquished it; but this loss was now compensated to him by a pension of fifteen hundred a year. Being thus entirely exonerated from those pecuniary cares which during a great part of his career appear to have pressed heavily on a sensitive and anxious spirit, he probably anticipated, from the influence of tranquillity

and leisure, the permanent restoration of the health which he had lost amid the solitudes of life and the toils of office. He soon found his mistake ; but his first warm emotions of joy and thankfulness may be viewed with pleasure in the following letter.

MR. ADDISON TO DEAN SWIFT.

Dear sir,

March 20. 1717-18.

Multiplicity of business and a long dangerous fit of sickness have prevented me from answering the obliging letter you honored me with some time since ; but, God be thanked, I cannot make use of either of these excuses at present, being entirely free both of my office and my asthma. I dare not however venture myself abroad yet, but have sent the contents of your last to a friend of mine (for he is very much so, though my successor) who I hope will turn it to the advantage of the gentleman whom you mention. I know you have so much zeal and pleasure in doing kind offices to those you wish well to, that I hope you represent the hardship of the case in the strongest colours that it can possibly bear. However, as I always honored you for your good nature, which is a very odd quality to celebrate in a man who has talents so much more shining in the eyes of the world, I should be glad if I could any

way concur with you in putting a stop to what you say is now in agitation.

I must condole with you upon the loss of that excellent man the bishop of Derry, who has scarcely left behind him his equal in humanity, agreeable conversation, and all kinds of learning. We have often talked of you with great pleasure, and upon this occasion I cannot but reflect upon myself, who, at the same time that I omit no opportunity of expressing my esteem for you to others, have been so negligent in doing it to yourself. I have several times taken up my pen to write to you, but have always been interrupted by some impertinence or other; and to tell you unreservedly, I have been unwilling to answer so agreeable a letter as that I received from you, with one written in form only; but I must still have continued silent had I deferred writing till I could have made a suitable return. Shall we never again talk in laconic? Whenever you see England your company will be the most acceptable in the world at Holland house, where you are highly esteemed by lady Warwick and the young lord; though by none any where more than by, sir,

Your most faithful and most humble servant.

The reader will not omit to remark, as some presumption against the assumed matrimonial sub-

serviency of Addison, the frank and confident tone in which he answers for the cordial welcome which would be afforded to *his friend* by his Sultana wife and her noble offspring.

The bishop of Derry here lamented was Dr. St. George Ashe, one of the Irish friends of the writer. Mention of him frequently occurs in Swift's Correspondence, and he seems to be again referred to in a subsequent letter,—the last testimony to be produced of the continued friendship of Addison for Swift. It seems from the first paragraph, as if he had even consented at the dean's request, to dip a finger in some Irish *job*.

MR. ADDISON TO DEAN SWIFT.

Dear sir

Bristol Oct^r. 1. 1718.

I have received the honour of your letter at Bristol, where I have just finished a course of water-drinking, which I hope has pretty well recovered me from the leavings of my last winter's sickness. As for the subject of your letter, though you know an affair of that nature cannot well nor safely be treated of in writing, I desired a friend of mine to acquaint sir Ralph Gore, that I was under a preengagement, and not at my own choice to act in it, and have since troubled my lady Ashe with a letter to the same effect, which I hope has not miscarried. However,

upon my return to London I will further enquire into that matter, and see if there is any room left for me to negotiate as you propose.

I still live in hopes of seeing you in England, and if you would take my house of Bilton in your way (which is within a mile of Rugby) I would strain hard to meet you there, provided you would make me happy in your company for some days.

The greatest pleasure I have met with for some months, is in the conversation of my old friend Dr. Smalridge, who, since the death of the excellent man you mention, is to me the most candid and agreeable of all bishops; I would say, clergymen, were not deans comprehended under that title. We have often talked of you, and when I assure you he has an excellent taste of writing, I need not tell you how he talks on such a subject. I look upon it as my good fortune, that I can express my esteem to you, even to those who are not of the bishop's party, without giving offence. When a man has so much compass in his character, he affords his friends topics enough to enlarge upon, that all sides admire. I am sure a sincere and zealous friendly behaviour distinguishes you as much as many more shining talents; and as I have received particular instances of it, you must have a very bad opinion of me, if you do not think I heartily love and respect you; and that I am ever, dear sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant.

To this period must also be referred the beautiful testimony of his reverence for Milton, in the person of his surviving representative, recorded in the following extract.

“Mr. John Ward, fellow of the Royal Society, and professor of rhetoric in Gresham-college, London, saw the above Mrs. Clark, Milton's daughter at the house of one of her relations not long before her death, [ob. 1727 æt. 76.] when she informed me, says that gentleman, ‘That she and her sisters used to read to their father in eight languages, which by practice they were capable of doing with great readiness, and accuracy, tho’ they understood no language but English, and their father used often to say in their hearing, one tongue was enough for a woman. None of them were ever sent to school, but all taught at home by a mistress kept for that purpose. Isaiah, Homer, and Ovid's Metamorphoses were books which they were often called to read to their father; and at my desire she repeated a great number of verses from the beginning of both these poets with great readiness. I knew who she was upon the first sight of her, by the similitude of her countenance with her father's picture. And upon my telling her so, she informed me, that Mr. Addison told her the same thing, on her going to wait on him; for he, upon hearing she was living sent for

her, and desired if she had any papers of her father's, she would bring them with her, as an evidence of her being Milton's daughter; but immediately on her being introduced to him, he said, Madam, you need no other voucher; your face is a sufficient testimonial whose daughter you are; and he then made her a handsome present of a purse of guineas, with a promise of procuring for her an annual provision for life; but he dying soon after, she lost the benefit of his generous design. She appeared to be a woman of good sense, and genteel behaviour, and to bear the inconveniences of a low fortune with decency and prudence.'"

From "The Lives of the Poets, by Mr. Cibber," [*alias* Robert Sheils.] London, 1753. 12o. Vol. 2. p. 141.

It was to be expected, both from the inclinations and the former practice of Addison, that his first impulse on finding himself emancipated from official labours, would be to resume the more tranquil pursuits of a man of letters; and it should seem that he was not unprovided of literary projects, some of which may have lain maturing in his mind for years.

"If he had found time for the writing of another tragedy," says Tickell, "the death of Socrates would have been the story. And however unpromising that subject may appear, it would be presumptuous to censure his choice, who was so famous for raising the

noblest plants from the most barren soil. It serves to show that he thought the whole labour of such a performance unworthy to be thrown away upon those intrigues and adventures to which the *Romantic* taste has confined modern tragedy; and after the example of his predecessors in Greece, would have employed the Drama to “wear out of our minds every thing that is mean or little; to cherish and cultivate that humanity which is the ornament of our nature; to soften insolence, to soothe affliction, and to subdue our minds to the dispensations of providence.” But of the death of Socrates it does not appear that a single line was ever written. Of his work on the Evidences of Christianity, in which Tickell intimates that he was at one time “more assiduous than his health could well allow,” mention has been already made; and it does not seem that this fragment received any addition after he quitted office. Neither is there any thing to be produced in corroboration of the statement, that he “had long determined to dedicate his poetry also, for the future, wholly to religious subjects,”—unless it be Tonson’s absurd assertion that he designed to enter the church and obtain a bishopric, and to that end had resolved to translate the whole book of Psalms; of which he executed several. All the psalms, or hymns, of his that we possess, appeared in the Spectator. In fact, the latest efforts of Addison were exerted in behalf

of a far different cause ; and he exhausted himself in the composition of political pieces, concerning which Tickell has thought fit to preserve a profound silence, but which the biographer ought not *now* to pass over without a full account of their nature and origin.

The whigs of this period had never ceased to cherish an indignant remembrance of that unprecedented creation of twelve peers in a breath, by which queen Anne, under the direction of Harley, had overpowered their fixed majority in the upper house and effected their expulsion from the administration.

It was natural therefore that on the restoration of their ascendancy under the new reign, they should meditate some effectual measure for precluding any possible repetition of so pernicious an expedient. This purpose, perhaps combined with some personal views in the joint projectors, lord Sunderland the chief of the cabinet, and lord Stanhope, led to the introduction of a Peerage bill, by which the number of members of the upper house was to be limited, the sovereign foregoing the prerogative of creating new peerages except in place of such as should become extinct. On the first suggestion of the measure in the commons, at the end of February 1719, notwithstanding the boldness of the innovation, few objections seem to have been made, and a message of approval being delivered from

his majesty, the bill was brought in with the expectation on the part of the ministers of its passing unopposed.

Difficulties however soon arose; the Scotch portion of the bill, by which representative peerages were changed into hereditary ones, raised great discussion; the general principle was attacked: and it soon became evident that a section of the whigs, with the formidable Walpole at their head, who had resigned with lord Townshend on the late dissensions in the cabinet, were resolved, partly as a trial of strength, to give it, both in and out of parliament, all the opposition in their power. The consequence was, that about the middle of April, lord Stanhope instead of proceeding to the third reading, found it expedient to defer the measure till the next session, but with the full purpose of then carrying it through by the whole strength of government. In the interval, there raged between these unnatural combatants a perfect civil war of pamphlets.

Steele, whose ruined circumstances and injured reputation fitted him for troubled waters, immediately threw himself into the fray, and set up for the service of the opposition a weekly paper called the *Plebeian*. In the first number of it however he confined himself closely to the question, urging against the bill none but general, and those not ill-founded, objections; such as the inexpediency of

further abridging the prerogative which could no longer be regarded as exorbitant, and the danger of so altering the balance of the constitution as in effect to turn it into an aristocracy.

An answer speedily appeared to this Plebeian under the title of the Old Whig, powerfully and methodically reasoned, and with such a superiority of style as loudly claimed it for the author of the Freeholder. It contained no personal allusions to the opposite champion, and cannot be said to have in any respect exceeded the bounds of civil though earnest controversy. Such praise is not to be conceded to the reply of the Plebeian: He supposes his antagonist to be "somebody or other that is used to masquerading; and indeed he is so well disguised that 'tis impossible to know him." "He is so Old a Whig that he is afraid he has quite forgotten his principles." In one passage, too, he seems to intimate a knowledge of the author: "This pamphlet, by the marks it appears with, being in all probability the best performance that is to come from that quarter, the Plebeian will consider it thoroughly." In accuracy of statement and soundness of logic this paper is still more inferior to that which it answers than in decency, of which it contains gross violations. The Old Whig was provoked to some sharp, but richly deserved retaliation. In his second number, he reproaches the Plebeian with having begun "like a

son of Grub Street, with declaring the great esteem he has for himself, and the contempt he entertains for the scribblers of the age," and he even ridicules him as "little Dicky." An able and a calm refutation of his arguments then succeeds, but the whole concludes with an ironical compliment to the Plebeian on the talents he has shown for his "new vocation" of a "*pamphleteer*." The word pamphlet, it may be remarked by the way, had not yet lost its original signification of a *libel*.

The next Plebeian showed its author deeply wounded by the strokes he had himself provoked; he complained of the "insolent compassion" expressed towards him, — affected to treat the second Old Whig as so great a falling off, not only from the former writings of the author, but even from the first number, that he scarcely knew whether it were "himself or his ghost," — and he concluded with a quotation from Cato which Dr. Johnson calls "at once detection and reproof."*

And this was the closing scene of the long connection, — this the final leave-taking of Addison and Steele, — the loving schoolfellows, — the college

* These pieces never having been reprinted, are now of extreme rarity. Johnson had never seen them. I am indebted for the perusal of them to Bolton Corney Esq. whose curious collection contains a volume formerly Mr. Bindley's, — in which both the Old Whig and the Plebeian are bound up, with other tracts on the same subject.

friends, — the joyous, witty companions, — the literary partners and mutual advisers, — the associates in public business, — the fellow members of the house of commons, — the brothers in political opinion! Alas for frail and erring human nature!

It is probable that more causes of estrangement than we are informed of must have preceded this unseemly quarrel, for Steele had written to his wife in 1717, "I ask no favor of Mr. Secretary Addison;" but we have some ground to hope that *both* parties lived long enough to feel compunctious visitings. The omission of the Old Whig from Tickell's edition of Addison's works, for which his own directions were no doubt received and followed, indicates as much on one part; and when Steele addressed to Congreve the letter prefixed to the Drummer, the reader feels that all traces must have vanished from his mind of every thing but the genius and the virtues of him whom he points out by the touching description of "the man I loved best." Even in the heat of this dispute, we cannot believe that he would have written his last rejoinder with any suspicion that it would have found Addison on his death-bed. This however must have been literally the case. It was not till after the latter end of April, that the controversy began; in the third Plebeian the Old Whig is reproached for his long delay in bringing out his third number, and on June 17, Addison

expired; thus affording a very remarkable instance of mental vigor retained to the latest stage of one of the most distressing of chronic maladies.

It appears that the asthma with which he had been afflicted during his secretaryship had speedily returned with redoubled violence; dropsy supervened, and thus a period was put to his valuable life on June 17, 1719, at the early age of forty-seven.

It here becomes necessary, however painful, to advert to a prevalent impression that this lamentable event was hastened by the effects of the sole vicious habit said to have served as alloy to the virtues of Addison, — excess in wine. At this distance of time, much of *direct* evidence is not to be expected on such a subject, but it may safely be affirmed, that the *incidental* notices supplied by the study of his life, tend much more to invalidate than confirm so disgraceful an imputation; and these shall now be laid without partiality before the reader.

All our accounts of his Oxford life bespeak him a retired student, guilty of no excess but in severe nocturnal study; and precisely the same impression of his habits while at Blois is conveyed by the tattle of his prying neighbour Phillippeaux; while his letters strongly express the loathing with which he shunned the society of the toping German counts by whom that town was infested. It is true that his correspondence while abroad contains several allusions to

convivialities, but these are all in a sportive tone, and have much the air of irony hazarded on the very strength of a sober character. Pope's account as reported by Spence, concerning his tavern evenings with his intimates, has done most injury to his reputation in this respect; but it will be observed that even he does not actually charge him with excess, and when he says that he had himself belonged for some time to this set, but left it off because it hurt his health, we should remember that a constitution like Pope's would not admit even of late hours with impunity. That of Addison, we know from the testimony of his friend Wortley to have been remarkably sound; and other accounts intimate, that he was only warmed into the utmost brilliancy of table conversation, by the time that Steele had rendered himself nearly unfit for it. It has already been shown too, that so far from constantly requiring the stimulus of tavern conviviality, he mostly took refuge from it in the studious solitude of his country lodgings. Swift, in his journal, *once* speaks of him as exceeding moderation when he gave a treat to some friends,—an exception which surely may be said to prove the rule. In a letter to colonel Hunter, Swift says; “Sometimes Mr. Addison and I steal to a bottle of bad wine, and wish for no third person but you, who if you were with us, would never be satisfied without *three* more.” Comparatively, there-

fore, he was certainly temperate, and his disease, the asthma, is not one of those which intemperance tends to produce; it must however be owned, that excess was at this time so nearly universal, and in many companies so imperatively enforced, that it was difficult for any one to keep gentleman's company, without taking wine enough eventually to injure his constitution, although he might always stop short of actual intoxication. That Addison had contracted no habit either injurious to the powers of his intellect, or inconsistent with tranquillity of mind and peace of conscience, his own writings however bear the most satisfactory testimony of all; because of a kind which could not be counterfeited. Let any one, after perusing his inimitable papers, ask himself whether their *crowning* grace be not derived from the spirit of the author shining through them, and whether that spirit be not eminently one of *sobriety*? Whether the harmony, the proportion, the correctness of taste and judgment which pervade them, — their mild benevolence and their cheerful unaffected piety, can be conceived as co-existing with a career of intemperance and the confusion, misery and self-reproach by which it is inevitably attended? Or will any one believe that a man stained himself with this vice, would have dared to stigmatise it as in his 569th Spectator? Some however have supposed that it was only after his marriage, and in consequence of

domestic unhappiness, that Addison contracted this dreadful habit. The slight foundation of the notion that matrimony was to him a state of infelicity, has been already pointed out; in any case, his experience of it was short; less than three years; a period scarcely sufficient it might be thought to produce so fatal a result. Nor are we unprovided with an authentic piece of evidence tending to an opposite conclusion. By his last will, dated only a month before his death, he bequeaths to his lady his whole property, real and personal, subject only to a legacy of 500*l.* to his sister Mrs. Combs, and an annuity of 50*l.* to his father's widow, adding these emphatic expressions: "And I do make and ordain my said dear wife executrix of this my last will: and I do appoint her to be guardian of my dear child Charlotte Addison, until she shall attain her age of one and twenty; being well assured that she will take due care of her education and maintenance, and provide for her in case she live to be married." A testimony thus solid of his entire affection; and of his more than ordinary confidence in the equity and maternal impartiality of a widow who was likewise the mother of a son and daughters elder, and of higher rank, than his own infant, orphan girl, ought, it will surely be allowed, to outweigh any vague rumours to the disadvantage of her temper and manners in the conjugal relation! Is it conceivable that any man would thus "give and hazard all he had,"

even to his precious only child, in compliment to a woman who should have rendered his last years miserable by her pride and petulance, and have driven him out from his home to pass his comfortless evenings in the gross indulgence of a tavern ?*

The last days of this excellent man were replete with interest, and with moral instruction. In that ingenuous life of himself where the honest Whiston speaks of his "great friend Mr. Addison," and records his obligations to him for his patronage of his astronomical lectures, he expresses his admiration, that a secretary of state should "retain such a great regard for the Christian religion that he began to read the ancient fathers of the three first centuries before he died ;" and he supposes him to have begun his work on the Christian evidences about the same time. He then mentions, that passing by Holland house, where he knew from the public papers that Addison was lying sick and not likely to recover, he called and desired

* A story has sometimes appeared in print, as reported by some traveller on his return from Ferney, to the effect, that Voltaire gave an account of his having, when in England, dined in a company where he saw Addison in a state of disgusting intoxication. It is just worth while to remark, wherever this counterfeit tale was minted, that the French wit did not visit England till the year 1726, and consequently could never have been in the company of Addison.

The absurd rumour of his having, while at Oxford, turned into a toper by his example Dryden, who lived in London and was about forty years his senior, merits no refutation.

to see him. "But the answer was, that the physicians had given order that nobody should be admitted to see him: I replied, that notwithstanding such order, if he knew I was there, I believed he would see me; but I could not prevail, so I saw him not." In any other person than Whiston, such an application, although unsuccessful, would argue an extraordinary degree of intimacy; in him it may rather pass for a trait of that mingled simplicity and self-importance of the clergyman and the scholar which characterised him. Without doubt he conceived that his spiritual services would be highly prized by his "great friend" in his last extremity; it is possible even that he might wish to make experiment upon him of the efficacy of prayer and anointing of the sick with oil, a practice of the primitive church in which, for that sole reason, he put great faith as a remedy.

The anecdote is at least a valuable one, as an authentic pledge of the high esteem in which, at the very close of his career, the character of Addison, public and private, was held by a man of proverbial integrity, and primitive simplicity, who never feared to speak his thoughts to the face of statesman, prelate or princess.

One touching incident is preserved by Spence from the relation of Pope. A short time before his death, Addison sent lord Warwick to request that Gay,

who had not lately cultivated his acquaintance, would give him a visit. Gay complied ; on his arrival he found himself received with great kindness, after which Addison made him the acknowledgment that he had injured him, but assured him, that if he lived he would make him amends. He explained himself no further, and Gay could not conjecture in what particular he could have done him such serious mischief. It may be safely concluded, that he who felt it necessary to his peace of mind to make such an acknowledgment, could have had but few offences against his fellow-creatures resting upon his conscience.

A different circumstance stands on the authority of Dr. Young, who has related it in these terms. “ After a long and manly, but vain struggle with his distemper, he dismissed his physicians, and with them all hopes of life ; but with his hopes of life he dismissed not his concern for the living, but sent for a youth nearly related (the earl of Warwick) and finely accomplished, but not above being the better for good impressions from a dying friend. He came, but life now glimmering in the socket, Addison was silent : after a decent and proper pause, the youth said, “ Dear sir, you sent for me ; I believe and I hope you have some commands, I shall hold them most sacred.” May distant ages not only hear but feel the

reply ! Forcibly grasping the earl's hand, he softly said, ' See in what peace a Christian can die ! ' ”

No one can make the slightest question of the christian faith of Addison ; and Young's assertion that he received the anecdote from Tickell, who said that he designed an allusion to it in two lines of his poem to the memory of his friend ;

“ He taught us how to live, and O too high
The price for knowledge ! taught us how to die,”

would, *if true*, put the story, as to the main fact, out of doubt. The pompous and theatrical air of it, however, so repugnant to the mind and manners of Addison, cannot but excite a strong suspicion that it owes to the narrator *at least* its dressings.

A few days only before his decease, Addison gave directions to Tickell to collect his writings, of which the only unpublished part consisted in his Dialogues on Medals, and his fragment on the Christian religion.

At the same time he committed a letter to his care in which he had bequeathed his works as a pledge of friendship, to his friend and successor Mr. Craggs. These lines, interesting as probably the very last traced by the hand of Addison, and touching as a testimony of his almost parental affection for an amiable protégé, and his dying anxiety to make an interest for him in the heart of a new patron

when he himself should be removed, here demand insertion and run as follows:—

Dear Sir,

I cannot wish that any of my writings should last longer than the memory of our friendship, and therefore I thus publicly bequeath them to you, in return for the many valuable instances of your affection.

That they may come to you with as little disadvantage as possible, I have left the care of them to one, whom, by the experience of some years, I know well-qualified to answer my intentions. He has already the honour and happiness of being under your protection; and as he will very much stand in need of it, I cannot wish him better than that he may continue to deserve the favour and protection of such a patron.

I have no time to lay out in forming such compliments, as would but ill suit that familiarity between us, which was once my greatest pleasure, and will be my greatest honour hereafter. Instead of them, accept of my hearty wishes, that the great reputation you have acquired so early, may increase more and more: and that you may long serve your country with those excellent talents, and unblemished integrity, which have so powerfully recommended you to the most gracious and amiable monarch that ever filled a throne. May the frankness and gene-

rosity of your spirit continue to soften and subdue your enemies, and gain you many friends, if possible, as sincere as yourself. When you have found such, they cannot wish you more true happiness than I, who am with the greatest zeal, &c.

It is remarkable that this statesman added to the esteem and affection of Addison, the suffrage of Pope, expressed in several eulogistic couplets which are found in his poem on Addison's Dialogues on Medals.

Mr. Craggs did not long survive to justify or to disappoint the hopes of his friends; he was cut off by a hasty fate even before he could receive the offering of Addison from the hands of Tickell.

All funeral honours were duly paid to the remains of a man justly regarded as the ornament of his age and country. His body lay in state in the Jerusalem chamber on June 26, and was afterwards interred in Westminster Abbey; but by a strange neglect, not even a stone was placed to mark the spot till ninety years afterwards, when a handsome monument, raised by subscription, proved how freshly his fame still lived and flourished in the memory of his fellow countrymen.

Charlotte Addison inherited from her mother her father's estate of Bilton, where she resided unmarried to the termination of a long life. After her decease, the library of Addison was sold for a moderate sum;

a small number of pictures collected by him still, it is believed, remain in the house; they are mostly portraits of his contemporaries, and intrinsically of small value.

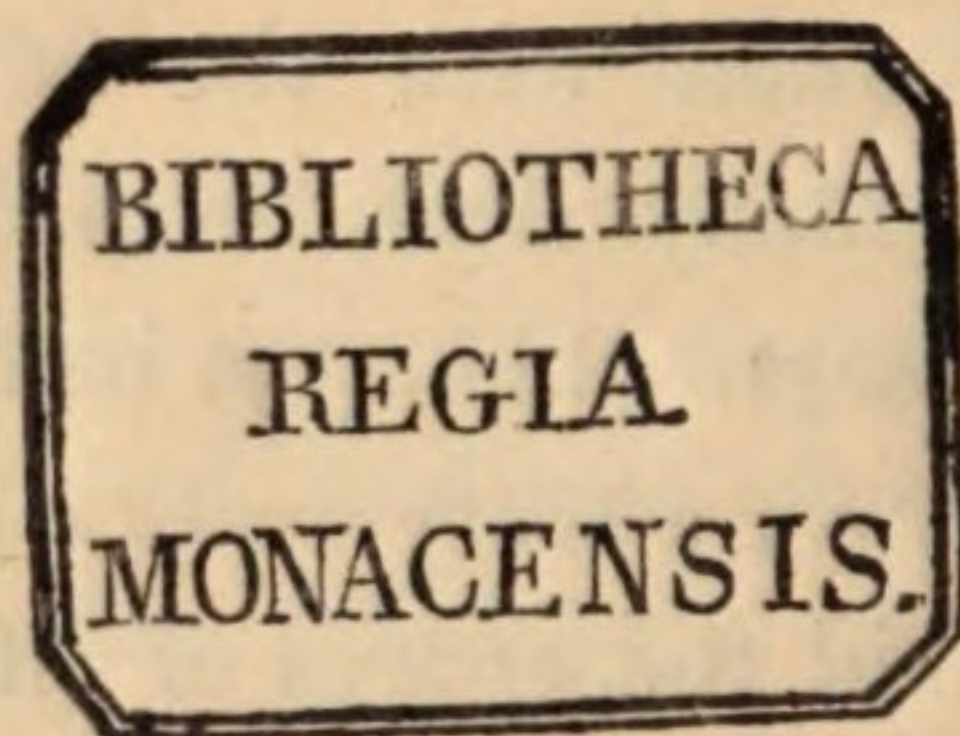
Such was Joseph Addison, of whom as an author, it has been well observed, that if his writings were by any accident to perish, the loss could not elsewhere be supplied, and “would make a chasm not in the number only, but in the species of our fine writers.”*

As a man, he stood first among his literary contemporaries in the charms of his conversation, the amenity of his disposition, the purity of his morals, and the correctness and consistency of his conduct in public life and private. With wit and genius which would have obtained pardon with the world at large for many foibles and many vices, he made it his chief aim to draw as lightly as possible upon its moral indulgence. A vigilant prudence, a wary reserve, which served as his safeguards amid the snares of life, rendered him perhaps less the object of the love of his associates than of their respect and admiration; and his sarcastic wit, a weapon of which he is said not to have been unwilling at times to let the edge be felt, must often have inspired alarm. Hence probably it is, that we have fewer familiar stories of his sayings and his habits than of those of his contemporary wits, and

* Mrs. Barbauld.

hence too, perhaps, the number of little malicious tales concerning him which have at times obtained currency. If the present narrative of his life, formed from the most authentic documents, should serve to place his character at once in a more distinct and more interesting point of view, the design of the author will be fully answered.

It must surely be satisfactory to all whom the writings of Addison have profited and delighted, to observe him setting the seal to his precepts by the cultivation of elegant and intellectual society, by perseverance in literary pursuits,—by a life of purity, uprightness and benevolence.



APPENDIX.

THE Memorial of Addison to George I. has been several times referred to in the preceding pages, and extracts from it presented; but the importance of the document which has never before appeared in print, seems to demand its publication in an entire state.

MR. ADDISON'S MEMORIAL.

(A much worn and somewhat mutilated copy in the possession of Mr. Tickell) in his own handwriting.

THAT your Memorialist was sent from y^e University by K. William, in order to travail and qualify himself to serve H. M., by which means he was diverted from making his Fortune in any other way.

That y^e King allowed him an annual Pension for this end, but H. M. dying in y^e first year of this his allowance, and y^e Pension being discontinued, your Memorialist pursued his travels upon his own Expense for above three years.

That upon his Return to England, after having published an Account of his Travails, y^e Lord Godolphin recommended him to be Under Secretary to her Majesty's principal Sec^y of State, which Place he enjoyed under Sir C. Hedges and y^e E. of Sunderland.

That my Lord H. upon going to Hanover, desired him

to accompany him thither, at which time, tho' he had not y^e Title of his Secretary, he officiated as such without any other Reward than y^e Satisfaction of shewing his zeal for that illustrious Family.

That upon his Return to England he took all occasions, both by his writings and conversation, to promote y^e cause, which, God be thank'd, has so wonderfully prevail'd, and to publish those Royal virtues which the nation sees at present in your Majesty.

That your Memst was afterwards Sec^y to y^e E. of W. in y^e Government of Ireland, and endeavoured to behave himself with that Diligence and Integrity that he has gain'd y^e friendship of all y^e most considerable Persons in that Kingdom.

That when Baron Groet was your Majesty's Minister in these Kingdoms your Memst was employed to meet and discourse with him upon such Points as might be thought conducive to y^e Interest of y^e Protestant Succession, y^e s^d Baron Groet having proposed to my L^d H. this method (as) y^e means to avoid giving any umbrage to *****

That, at this time your Memst was employed to draw a new Credential Letter from that Excellent Princess, y^e late Electress Dowager of Brunswick, with o^r Instruments of y^e same nature, for which he thought himself amply satisfied by y^e Pleasure he took in doing anything which might promote your Majesty's Cause.

That, upon y^e Queen's Demise, without any previous Solicitation, your Memst was, in that critical conjuncture, appointed Sec^y to y^e Regency.

That during this very troublesome office, he was ordered by y^e then L^ds Regent to draw up a Preamble to the P. of Wales' Patent, for which there was no gratuity allowed him.

That he received no Fee, Salary, Reward or Perquisite whatsoever for this his Service to y^e Regency, notwithstanding he was at considerable charge in keeping Clerks, and other Expences that accompanied his attendance in that Office, and notwithstanding y^e incredible Fatigue of that Office very much impaired his health, and would have endanger'd his Life, had he continued much longer in it.

That y^e Lords of y^e Regency, upon y^e determining this Office, declared unanimously that they were highly satisfied with the Diligence and Fidelity of their Sec^y and that upon their first attendance on Your Majesty, they would with one Voice, recommend him to your Royal Favor, for a mark of your Majesty's Bounty.

That the Memst's Profits as Sec^y under my L^d Sunderland have fallen very much short of what might have been expected from that Office, and (contrary to y^e Profits of all other y^e like Offices in this first happy year of your Majesty's reign) have amounted to no more than they usually are in any common year, by reason of his Lordship's absence from that kingdom, and his not being qualified to give out military commissions.

That y^r Memst has not thought fit to mention y^e expences he was at to get himself elected into the 3 last Sessions of Parliament in y^e last Reign, and can appeal to those who were witnesses of his Behaviour, that he never departed from those who were well wishers to your Majesty's Interest, tho' often press'd and tempted to it by y^e opposite Party. Nor will your Memst's modesty permit him to insist upon his endeavours, which were not thought unsuccessful in securing such a spirit among the People as disposed 'em to favour y^e Interest of a Prince who is so justly esteemed a Friend to y^e Liberties of Europe and a **** of mankind.

It is therefore an unspeakable Mortification to your Memst to find himself thrown out of Place and for that Reason to be regarded as one who has forfeited your Majesty's Favour, and I humbly beg that Y. M. ****.

cætera desunt.

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* * * The Roman letters refer to the volume ; the Arabic figures to the page.

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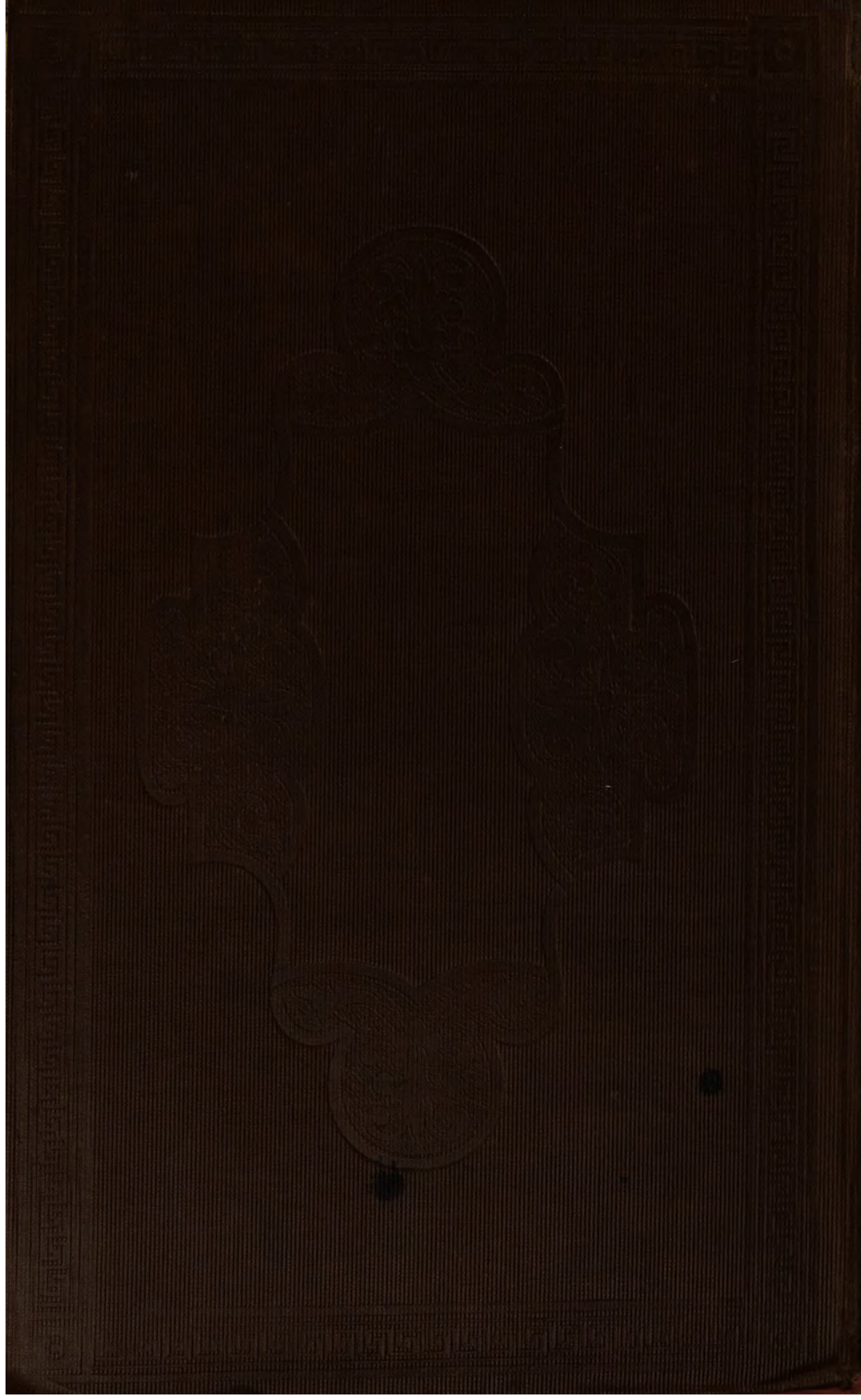
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THE END.

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